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LETTER

TO THE

People of *England*.

ON THE

Present SITUATION and CONDUCT

OF



NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

LETTER I.

Hoc illud est praeceptum in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumenta intueri: inde tibi tuoque Republicae quod imitere, capias, inde scdum inceptu, scdum exitu, quod vites.

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REPORT

TO THE

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LETTER I.

WHOEVER has been accustomed to read with Attention, the Historians, Orators, and satyrical Poets of *Greece* and *Rome*, that wrote towards the Decline of those States, and observed the Manners, Pursuits, Objects, and ruling Passions of these People, together with the Symptoms of impending Ruin, prefigured and delineated by those Men of superior Genius, must, on Comparison with what prevails at present in *England*, be deeply touched with the Analogy. The Philippics of *Demosthenes* are so replete with striking Pictures and vivid Representations, drawn from Observation, on what passed at *Atbens* during his time; and so applicable to the People and present State of this Country, that the great Difference of the Names of those Persons who lived, and Places which existed Two Thousand Years ago in *Greece*, have not sufficient Power to withhold my Imagination from being imposed on by the Similitude of Manners; or restrain me from believing, that I am reading the History of *Englishmen*, and the present Age.

When I see this Patriot Orator generously upbraiding his degenerate Countrymen with universal Vices, and Loss of public Virtue; describing them drowned in Floods of self-love, Pleasure, and public Shows, supremely negligent of their Country's Welfare; condemn-

ing the Merit of all other Nations, themselves arrogant and self-sufficient in Excess; preferring private Opinion to established Wisdom; idolizing Mortals in Power and irreverent to their Gods: What Eye so dim that cannot distinguish the Analogy so manifest between the *Athenians* of his Time, and the *English* of ours? What Mind so stupid as not to foresee the same Events?

It seems evident from all I can gather, that the Strength, Happiness, Military and Civil Glory of all Nations, have ever subsisted and encreased in Proportion to the Understanding and Virtue of those, who reigned, and those who obeyed; and though Numbers of Inhabitants and Degrees of Riches may be thought by many to oppose this Observation, yet a just Examination will prove the Truth of what is here said.

Was it not by means of the happy Union of those superior Qualifications in the first *Cyrus*, that he extended his Empire from the little Realm of *Persia* over Nations, almost too distant to be visited, and whose Languages were unintelligible to each other, as *Xenophon* has described them? Yet such is the Fate and Revolution of Empires; *Darius* with all these Nations in Subjection, with infinite Armies and untold Sums of Treasure, deserted by Virtue only, fell the easy Prey of *Alexander* and a few *Macedonians*.

To this energetic Influence of Virtue in the common People, and Understanding united with it in their Leaders, it is owing that the *Grecians* in their rising Glory performed almost miraculous Exploits,

To confirm this Truth, the well fought field of *Marathon*, where *Miltiades* and ten thousand *Greeks* defeated six hundred thousand *Persians*, affords an irresistible Evidence: as did the naval Victory of *Themistocles*, who saved his Country from Perdition, such amazing achievements can small Numbers, actuated by their Country's Love, armed with the Sword of Virtue, and conducted by superior Wisdom, perform against Millions sunk in Effeminacy, Luxury, and Riches.

SPARTA

SPARTA remained invincible whilst her Sons were virtuous, and *Leonidas* unconquerable but by Death.

EVER *Thebes*, the long Object of sarcastic Attic Wit, lifted her Head from below the Dust, and walked forth the prevailing Power of *Greece*, by the Virtue of one great Man; like a new Star she shone forth in Lustre amongst the other Cities: With *Epaminondas* it's resplendent Course began, with him it blazed, and with him expired.

THE whole *Roman* Glory was entirely owing to the Virtue of it's Inhabitants, whilst the greatest Honour attended Integrity in Poverty, and private Parsimony was Praise; whilst their Generals tilled their own little Farms, and the Labour of their Hands gave their Children the Bread of Virtue; whilst Merit brought Dictators from the Plough to rule a Nation, the *Romans* were insuperable: Yet, when their Emperors possessed half the Globe and half the Riches on it's Surface, this very People became the easy Capture of *Goths* and *Vandals*.

In this Manner will Nations perish, who renounce the Dictates of Virtue.

In all Situations, where Nations are equal in the Qualities of the Heart, the Chief who excels in Understanding prevails in his Undertakings. The Moment *Marlborough* left the Command of the Army, *Villars* conquered the Allies, and the long vanquished triumphed over their former Victories. *Turenne*, who during three Months had traversed the Designs and disappointed the Attempts of the *Austrians*, being now no more, left an easy Conquest over the Troops he had commanded, and his Country to be invaded by *Montecuculi*.

PETER the *Russian* Emperor, by Dint of Genius created a civilized People from Beings little better than Brutes. The very Man, who with more than a hundred thousand of his Troops fled before the Approach of eight thousand *Swedes*, and the severe Vir-
tue

ture of *Charles*, in his Beginning Reign, became at last his Conqueror, and made his Nation respectable.

THE present Sovereign of *Prussia*, the patriot King, who has rescued his Subjects from the Rapine of the Law, who institutes and sustains Manufacturies, encourages Arts and Sciences, promotes Industry, opens new Trades, extends his Commerce, enlarges his Dominions, aggrandizes his Name, and holds the Balance of *Europe*; is a living Instance of what exalted Understanding on a Throne can effect for a Nation.

IN this Manner our illustrious Queen *Elizabeth* reigned over the Hearts of a free People, directed by upright Ministers to her Subjects good. In this Manner it might have continued, if the cold, conceited Disputatious, man-loving *Scot*, had not filled the Throne of *England*, and blasted with his Northern Breath the blooming Plants of Glory which she had raised.

As are the Princes and Ministers, such have ever been the People who live beneath their Influence, in *England* and all Nations.

EVEN long after Luxury, and every Vice had prevailed at *Rome*, a virtuous Emperor recalled the People to Greatness and Felicity; the Reigns of *Trajan* and *Antoninus Pius* were equal in Happiness and Glory, to the most flourishing *Æra* of the *Roman* Name.

VIRTUE and Wisdom, Vice and Venality, have ever been; the first the Sources of national Happiness and Success, the latter of Decline and Ruin.

To flatter ourselves then, that the same Causes which destroyed *Greece* and *Rome* will not generate the like Consequences in *England*, is to delude ourselves like Children with self-willed, over-weaning Fondness. It is to suppose that the original Institution of all Things is established on vague and capricious Principles, and that those degenerate Faculties of mental Nature, which have begotten Ruin in all other Countries, will not produce the same Effect in this Island.

It is to believe that Corruption of Heart, and public Virtue; Love of Ease and Search of Danger; Insolence and true Bravery; Contempt of Heaven and Contempt of Death, can be existing in the same People; that the Course of Nature is suspended in our Favour, or that *England* is exempted from the Conditions which Providence first fixt on all created Things.

Is such Imagination a less Absurdity than to conceive that physical Principles, which produce Putrefaction and Dissolution in vegetable and animal Nature, may exist in full Energy, and yet these Substances remain unaltered, incorrupt, and entire, from that Influence.

HAS not Venality in human Kind, the same Effect on the Soul that the putrefactive Principle has on Matter? Does it not destroy the Union of it's Parts, and dissipate the strong attractive Power which holds the Mind firm, and resisting all vicious Attacks? Deprived of Virtue, it no longer possesses Strength or Vigour; it becomes feeble and effete. Yet, as in preserving animal and vegetable Substances from Decay, Art may supply the Absence of Nature in some Degree; so in Societies and moral Nature, Wisdom may restrain the precipitate Fall of Nations, and preserve them from total Ruin, tho' it may never restore them to their original Perfection.

I HAVE frequently thought that the Roman Word *Virtus*, which signifies Courage, has a Propriety in expressing the Idea beyond all the few Languages I have any Knowledge of; it seems to embrace the whole in Man which conspires to perfect that Attribute; Courage has been deemed by that People an Emanation of every Virtue, the Result of all others combined; and therefore by way of Eminence distinguished by that Appellation *Virtus*, *the Virtue*. They had remarked, that in Proportion as the Bosom is replete with Probity and Truth, the Love of it's Country and it's Gods; so is the Heart which inhabits it, with Courage.

THAT

THAT Breast which is freest from Pollution, is the least intimidated at Danger; the purest Soul is foremost in offering up Life a Sacrifice to it's Country, whereas the contaminated skulks to save itself in Cowardice.

THIS was the unvarying Characteristic of *Persians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, in their Days of greatest Glory, 'till at Length their Souls, debased by Corruption and Pleasure, became pusillanimous in Action, even in those Men whose Minds were not influenced by the certain Fear of future Punishments.

THIS Kind of Cowardice receives a new Cause, and this Observation a farther Confirmation in Christian Kingdoms; that Being which is depreciated by mean Actions, Corruption, and Injustice, is eternally haunted by the Dread of opposing himself to Danger, his Fears increase with his Vices, that very Individual which despises his Religion and defies his God, breathes Insolence and Outrage apart from Danger, trembles at the Approach of an Enemy, when Death and conscious Guilt recoil upon his Mind, like the timid Deer, who, valuing himself upon the Strength of his Antlers, flies at the first Sound of Hounds which pursue him; or the Lark, which shrinks to the Bosom of the Earth at the Sight of the Hawk, which hovers over his Head.

THE *Englishman* whose Valour is insuperable whilst Integrity sustains, Religion animates, and Patriotism urges him to Battle, must yield an unresisting Victory when those invigorating Qualities desert him; however true this must be acknowledged to be, it must be confessed also that the common People in no Nation have ever been the Cause of their own Corruption; it has always taken it's Source from the polluted Fountain of the Great, and thence ran muddy thro' the Multitude below.

WAS it not the Patricians at *Rome* that by Bribes began to sap the Virtue, pollute the Hearts, and corrupt the Integrity of the *Roman* common People, by purchasing

purchasing their Votes in the public Elections of their Officers; the Inferior sought not the Great. *England* was a Nation of Probity, till those who ought to have been the voluntary Choice of uninfluenced Consent, debased their own Souls and those of their Electors, by becoming their Representatives thro' Venality and Purchase. The Man who sells himself is more a Slave than he that is sold by another, and deeper impregnated with baser Qualities of Bondage.

HENCE, from History and Nature, from Observation and Reason, it plainly appears, that Nations have ever succeeded according to the Virtue and Understanding of those who directed them, and have declined and risen as these prevailed.

THAT this Kingdom is replete with all those fatal Symptoms, which foretold the Ruin of other free States, who shall deny? In *England* the King can do no Wrong, for which Reason the M——r becomes justly chargeable with the Errors and Misconduct of the State. As are the Talents and Designs of this Man, will be the Capacities and Pursuits of those who are employed beneath him. If we divide the Scale of mental Nature into ten degrees, and suppose that of a M——r to be at five, will not all those he appoints either in the Army or the Fleet, in Embassies and Council, be below that Degree of Understanding, his own Judgment must, in his own Opinion, be the most perfect of human Intellect in all Plans, Resolutions, and Conduct; he is prevented, by his shallow short-sighted Degree of Understanding, from penetrating into the Conceptions and Schemes of superior Minds, and must necessarily chuse those which resemble him in Size of Capacity. For this Reason, as Men exceed him and one another in Excellence, the less probable will it be that they will be employed under him. As these Men advance to Perfection in this Scale of intellectual Nature, they will grow more incomprehensible to his confined Understanding, and be deemed as Visionaries and Projectors; in Proportion

tion as they are adapted by all the exalted Attributes of the Mind to serve their King and Country, their Counsel will be rejected and themselves excluded; judge then what Catastrophy must attend Kingdoms so directed.

It is with the human Intellect as with the human Body, each extends according to it's natural Size, each has it's Limit, beyond which it cannot pass; and a Dwarf will reach with his Hand as high as *Goliath*, before the Duke of ***** will conceive the Extent, Force, and Truth of the E—l of G—e's Capacity.

FROM this Manner of Reasoning, whenever a M——r is weak [we shall talk of the Effects of Wick- edness in a succeeding Letter] all those who are under his Direction, and of his Choice, must participate of that national Calamity; the Stream of Poison which rises destructive in the Head, will still run on the same, through the Conduct of all that Body which lies beneath him.

I HAVE thus long intruded on your Patience, my Fellow-Countrymen, to shew you that what may be here advanced is true in the View of Nature, as deduced from Principle; and verified by Observation and Experience in the History of Mankind, to convince you that Love of my Country, and not Malevolence to M——rs, Truth and not Scandal, Goodwill towards Mankind, and no latent Aversion against Individuals, have been my sole Motives to this Attempt.

IN all Accounts I shall confine myself severely to Truth, and attempt to draw no Inferences which do not appear evidently deducible from preceding Facts: In executing this, however derogatory to the Capacity of those in Power, I fear not the Calumny of Minions in Favour, Hawkens of ministerial Falshoods, Advocates for Destroyers of their Country, or even M——rs themselves.

It what shall be here written appears to be just, what honest *Englishman* shall disapprove of my Conduct? Whatever Distance either Chance, Birth, or Riches, may have placed between me and a Prime Minister, there must be yet more between him and his Country. No Subject can be so superior to me in Rank, as this Nation is above him in Dignity. If I presume to examine the Understanding of him who presides at the Helm, let it be remembered it is because I am convinced his Weakness misguides his Fellow-Subjects. If I am blamed for daring to arraign his Conduct, it is because I am satisfied his Presumption may ruin his Country. Acquit me then or condemn me, as he is innocent or guilty.

HOWEVER, I confide that the patriot Design which justified *Demosthenes* the *Athenian*, and immortalized his Name, shall at least find me, an *Englishman*, present Favour and Applause; and Zeal for the Constitution of my Country, vindicate me in the Hearts of all Men, who yet preserve the Love of Probity and their native Land.

As we resemble the *Greeks* and *Romans* in the Symptoms of declining Liberty and Virtue, superior Wisdom in the Conduct of our Ministers can alone reinstate and preserve us. Let us then examine on what our Expectations are founded, and what is to be expected from those who preside in public Affairs.

It is not my present Design to summon up before your Eyes the Ghosts of Mal-Administration, or turn them back on the Conduct of the two Brothers, during the last Wars; I mean not now to awaken your Attention to that Flood of Pollution and Corruption, which has been let out, to deluge Integrity and Justice; I wish not to bring past Crimes to your Remembrance, squandering your Properties, and invading your Liberties, to aggravate the present Misconduct, or tread backwards those Paths which lead to unravel Ministerial Iniquity; I will not hint the Inattention which prevailed during the *French* naval Armaments and U-

speculations in *America*. Objects within the Ken of every Eye; Transactions of Yesterday, what has lately past by Land and Sea, shall be laid before you. Behold these with Attention, judge impartially from the Conduct in those Affairs, what is the Force of that Capacity which directs them, then remember that *England* is your native Land, and reflect one Moment on the Danger which hangs threatening over it.

To avoid every minute Particular, let us begin with examining the Conduct of our Navies.

No Man, I believe, will presume to deny that a true Intelligence of what employs our Enemies, is necessary to all Ministers who would successfully oppose their Machinations; and though it may be difficult to obtain a sure Knowledge of that Expedition which a Fleet is destined to go upon, it must be an easy Task to be ascertained of the Number of Ships they are equipping. The Bosom of one Man only may be conscious of the Intention of a naval Armament, when Thousands must know the Number which are arming. The Minister may be incorruptible, and the Secret impossible to be penetrated. Amongst the Multitudes employed in preparing this Force, many may be found, and infinite Ways contrived, to know the Number of our Enemies Ships. Without this previous Knowledge, on what Basis can it be presumed we oppose the Fleets of our Enemies? Yet this necessary Information, so easily procured, must be confessed to have been totally neglected, disregarded, or unobtained; or, which is yet more flagrant, the highest Imputation of Folly must be attributed to the Administration.

To prove this Assertion, let us begin with saying, that it was decided that the *French* Fleet at *Brest* should be opposed by the *English*, and its Destruction resolved upon; let us now cast our Eyes on the Manner in which this Design was planned, and the Way in which it was intended to be accomplished.

To execute this, Admiral *Boscawen* was sent to command a Squadron of Men of War, and in consequence

quence of that Resolve set Sail from off *Plymouth* the twenty-seventh of *April*, with a Fleet consisting of eleven Ships of the Line and one Frigate. It has since appeared, that his Orders were to cruize on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, to wait the Arrival of the *French* Fleet, and intercept their Voyage to *America*.

THE sending this Squadron under Admiral *Boscawen*, is a clear Proof that our M——rs imagined the Number it contained was sufficient to destroy the *French* Fleet, or it must be granted, that if they were purposely sent out unequal to the Attempt, that that Behaviour would be but little better than dooming them a Sacrifice. On the sixth of *May* the *French* Fleet, consisting of twenty-five Ships of the Line, ten of which were employed as Transports, their lower-deck guns being taken out, the rest fully armed, sailed from *Brest* for *North-America*.

IN consequence of the Intelligence that this Fleet was sailed, and the Number of it, Admiral *Holbourne* was dispatched with six Ships of the Line and one Frigate, and sailed from off *Plymouth* the sixteenth of *May*, being nineteen Days after Mr. *Boscawen*, and ten after the sailing of the *French* Fleet, to join the *English* Admiral.

THIS Reinforcement is an undeniable Proof that the M——y was absolutely unacquainted with the Number of Ships equipping at *Brest*, for this Expedition, before their sailing; otherwise can it be presumed they would not have sent a greater Number of Ships with Mr. *Boscawen* at first, since many more were ready for the Sea? or would they have sent the Reinforcement by Mr. *Holbourne* at all, if they had known that Mr. *Macnamara* would have returned with nine Ships of the Line; the Number of the *French* Fleet then, and the Part of it which was to return, were absolutely unknown to our M——y before it sailed; for the last they may be excused, but the Ignorance of the former is utterly unpardonable.

APPENDIX

After these three Fleets were failed, let us now suppose that to happen, which our M—y had presumed, and wished at Admiral *Boscawen*'s sailing might be the Event of their Orders; that is, that he might meet *Macnamara* with his Squadron of twenty-five Ships of the Line, sixteen of which were prepared for fighting, and the rest with their lower-deck Guns out, proceeding, as the M—y believed, at the Time of *Holbourne*'s sailing, for *North-America*.

WHAT would have been the Event of this Encounter, since Mr. *Boscawen* had received Orders to attack the *French*? I ask this Question of Men who can look with unprejudiced Eyes on the Merits of other Nations. With all the true Bravery, Prudence, and Knowledge of that Commander in naval Affairs, and those brave Captains joined with him in the Expedition, is there a well-founded Reason to believe that twenty-five *French* Men of War, circumstanced even as these were, would have been defeated by eleven *English*? If they had not, would not the shameful Ignorance of the M—y in the Number of the Enemy's Fleet, a Knowledge which every Man might have obtained who would have been at the Expence of paying for it, and surely the Parsimony of public Money is not the present reigning Taste, have proved the Perdition of his Majesty's Fleets and Subjects, to the everlasting Disgrace of the *English* Nation?

NAY so exquisitely subtle was the Design of this Scheme, even the second Fleet commanded by Admiral *Holbourne*, would in all human Probability have fallen into the Hands of the *French* Squadron also; for by the Result it has appeared, that he did not join Mr. *Boscawen* till even Days after the taking the *Alcide* and *Lys*.

By this Accident it might, with the greatest Probability, have happened, that Admiral *Boscawen* being defeated the tenth of June, the Day the *English* and *French* Fleet met in Darkness and Fogs on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, that Mr. *Holbourne* might have suffered

ferred the same Fate eleven Days after, the very Time of his arriving at these Parts. I mean, if the surrounding Obscurity had not saved the *English* Fleet, as it has the *French*.

SUCH was the probable Presumption when Mr. *Holbourne* quitted the *English* Coast, and such would have been the fatal Event, if *Macnamara* had continued the Voyage and Mr. *Boscawen* had met and engaged him. Judge then how pernicious this Ignorance of the Number of the Enemy's Fleet would have proved to this once illustrious Nation, had Things fallen out as our M——rs originally designed it.

It is extremely difficult to assign any Reason for Mr. *Holbourne's* being dispatched at all to join Admiral *Boscawen*, the very Distance in the Times of sailing of these Fleets rendered it improbable that he could join the first Admiral before the Engagement between him and *Macnamara* must have been totally decided, as is manifest by the Event of his joining Mr. *Boscawen*.

It appears then self-evident, that the sending this Admiral could have answered no other Purpose than destroying two Fleets instead of one, and sacrificing more of their Countrymen to the God of War, on the Altar of Ignorance.

THE Escape then with which these two Fleets have been favoured, and the Success which the first obtained in taking two *French* Men of War, inconsiderable as it is, cannot with the least Appearance of Justice be attributed to the ill-plann'd Designs of those who sent them on the Expedition. Can those Men be intitled to Praise for an Error in Judgment, in the *French* Admiral's Return, of which they knew nothing? and who, if he had proceeded on the whole Voyage to *America*, would in all Probability have ruined the two Fleets of *England*, sent as they were one after the other on this Expedition? With what Propriety then can this unforeseen Event be imputed

to the Fore-thought of those who preside in the
and naval Affairs; shall the Advantage of Accidents,
unimagined, be laid to the Account of their Penetra-
tion and Wisdom? as well may you attribute the
Winds which blew the Fleet to the Coast of *America*
to their Sagacity, as the little Success which they
have obtained in the Voyage. The just Reward of
these Men then, is the Dishonour of planning an Ex-
pedition that, through the Ignorance of what Numbers
the Enemy's Squadron was formed, would in all hu-
man Probability have been the Perdition of two *Eng-
lish* Fleets, and Thousands of brave Men and useful
Subjects of *Great Britain*.

BUT as there may be *Englishmen* who, prompted
by national Prejudice, believe that Admiral *Boscawen*
with his eleven Ships was a Match for *Macnamara* and
five and twenty *French* Men of War; let us, supposing
this to be true, examine the Prudence with which,
under this Idea, the Expedition was conducted.

FIRST it is a self-evident Truth, that there can
be no Evidence or Intelligence of a Fleet's sailing
to any Part of the Globe, equally certain with that
of it's leaving the Port in which it is equipt; the
first, however well founded it may be in the Opi-
nion and Judgment of an Enemy, can in it's Na-
ture be no more than casual and the Height of Pro-
bability; the second must be Demonstration and
Necessity.

MINISTERS may alter the Nature of their Design
in an Hour, and send a Fleet which was originally
equipping for one Part of the World, to another;
they may purposely give out different Tales to cover
their Intentions, or the Powers engaged against them
may be left to divine it's Intent only; these Circum-
stances may alter or conceal the true Place of it's De-
stination. But no Change of Sentiment or Disguise
can prevent a Fleet's being discovered in sailing out of
that Port, in which it is armed, whether destined to
the *Baltic* or *Africa*, *America* or *Japan*, however du-
bious

bious the Place of it's Destination may be; neither of these can alter any thing in it's Manner of leaving the Harbour in which it is prepared for the Seas.

SUPPOSING then the Strength of the *French* Fleet had been perfectly known, and Mr. *Boscawen* had commanded a Force sufficient to have defeated it, which he might with Ease have had under his Command, there being at that Time twenty Ships of the Line at *Spithead* more than his Squadron, most of them fully mann'd. Is there a Boatwain of the Fleet who would have sent the Admiral to the Banks of *Newfoundland*, where Darkness palpable like the *Egyptian*, is known, by every common Sailor in the Navy, to reign three successive Months in the Year, in one of which the *French* Fleet must have passed these Parts of the Seas; where Fogs that conceal more effectually than the darkest Night all Objects which pass within the Length of a Ship, must have saved the greatest Part of that Fleet which they were sent to destroy? A Place to which they never might arrive, or never be seen if they did. The Consequence of their being sent has evidently proved the Truth of this Observation.

WHAT shall then be said in Favour of that Man, who ordered the *English* Navy from those Parts where the Enemy's Fleet must inevitably pass, to one where they might not have been ordered to sail? To desert a Part in which they must be visible to all the Squadron, for one in which they would probably be enveloped in a Cloud, like *Aeneas*, secured from the Eyes of all Beholders? What is this but sending Ships the long Voyage to *America*, with the greatest Risque of missing in those Seas that which they must have met in the *British* Channel? Is not this the first Instance of an Understanding that has presided over Fleets and Armies, that preferred a *may be* to a Demonstration, and quitted a real Advantage in Certainty, for one of less Value in Probability only? Is it not owing to this Cause that so little Utility has been reaped from this Expedition,

Expedition, and the *French Fleet* escaped almost unseen? Was there ever a Person till this Time who would have deserted the Door of the House of that Man he wanted to meet, and who must come out of it, to seek him in the Streets where he never might pass, and prefer even Darkeness to the noon-tide Hour, for that Business? Is there a Country Gentleman who could judge so diametrically wrong? would he have sent his Game-Keeper to shoot Woodcocks by Night?

YET such is the Goodness of Heaven, as Mr. *Boscawen* was prepared, inferior to the Fleet which left *Brest*; the Absurdities of these Directors have preserved our Navy from a Defeat, and our Nation from a greater public Disgrace. For if Mr. *Boscawen* had been ordered off *Brest*, the Place which in right Reason he ought to have been ordered, the Ignorance of our M—rs in the Number of that Fleet which first left *Brest*, would have proved the Destruction of him and the *English* Squadron. So gracious was the Will of Heaven, and so absurd the Judgment of those who preside over naval Affairs in this Kingdom! This Conduct of our M—rs is not however without it's Advocates; the Reasons for justifying their Proceedings in this Manner are yet more extraordinary than the Behaviour itself: It is most gravely urged in Defence of this Conduct, that the *French* Squadron was not attacked in *Europe*, because their Allies, particularly the *Spaniard*, should not take Umbrage at our Behaviour; or such an Action bring on Hostilities in *Europe*. What kind of Capacities must these Men possess, who can imagine that an *Englishman* of common Sense can be cajoled with such frivolous Pretensions to a Justification of wrong Measures? Who can be deluded to believe, that a Fleet, freighted in *France* with Arms, Ammunition, Soldiers, and Provisions for *America*, can create any Difference of Opinion in a Nation, whether it be defeated on the Coast of *France* or the Banks of *Newfoundland*? These Advocates must have well studied *Grotius* and *Puffendorff*, who make this Distinction,

tion; and understand human Nature to great Perfection, who conceive, that the *Spanish* Ministry can be influenced against *England*, or to it's Advantage, in favour of, or contrary to it's own Interest, to join or oppose the Power of *France*, by so subtle a Distinction, as our not engaging that *French* Fleet in *Europe*, which you determine to destroy in *America* *. A Defeat in this Part of the World of one half of the *French* Navy, would have humbled the *Gallie* Arrogance, prevented *Spain* and the Allies from joining the King of *France*; and cooled their Ardor for War, in Proportion as it diminished the Powers with which it must be sustained.

THE depriving our Enemies of their military Force, is the most effectual Method of intimidating their Allies from joining them: few chuse the sinking Side of a Question, and add a Probability of their own Ruin to that of those who are already destroying. Though the drowning Person seizes every thing to save himself; yet few catch hold of him that is sinking, with the View of going along with him. But in the Manner we have proceeded, what have we done but behaved like Poachers, with all that little despicable Cunning of sending our Ships at a Distance, to effect what it was prevented from doing by the Nature of the Place? A Specimen of that mean Timidity and Weakness of Capacity, proceeding from the Exercise of corrupting, and being corrupted, which has been long too manifest in all our m——l Measures. A Disposition which effectually disgraces a M——r, and infallibly ruins a Nation. What have we done more than shewn, that our Navy, though the most powerful, and our Seamen the bravest; by the wrong Judgment and sinister Direction of our Rulers in m——l Affairs, can be rendered absolutely ineffectual?

* That this was given out as a Reason to cover their Mistakes, and not thro' any just Apprehension of *Spanish* Resentment, is now evident from the taking the *French* Merchant-Ships, and Mr. *Hawke's* cruising for their Men of War in the *European* Seas.

WE have cautioned and not chastised the *French*; we have sent a brave Admiral, brave Officers, brave Sailors, and seventeen Line of Battle Ships on a useless Parade to *Nova Scotia*, at an immense Expence, to take two *French* Men of War and to lose one of our own. We have been the Witnesses to the landing their Troops in *America*, and not prevented their Expedition. Such is the Conclusion of all the boasted Secrecy, Dispatch, and ravishing free-born Subjects from the Arms of their Wives and Children; and such the Result of the Wisdom of our m——l Conductors.

THIS then having been the Success and Conduct of our naval Armaments; let us now turn our Eyes on those of our Land-Forces, and candidly enquire, if the Wisdom of our M——rs has shone forth more eminently in the Management and Design of our Army on the Continent of *America*.

It was at length resolved, that General *Braddock*, with two Regiments, and all necessary Provision for a Siege, should be sent to *America*, to defeat the Schemes of the *French* Nation, which had been artfully usurping the Dominions of our Sovereign. And here it is impossible to avoid remarking, that the Alarm which was spread against the *French* Insolence, and the Measures taken in consequence of it, were not so much undertaken from the Representations of the various Provinces of *America*, as from the private Interest which a certain Quaker had in the M——y, to whom Lands on the River *Ohio* had been granted by the Governor of *Virginia*, which have since been ratified in *England*.

THIS Man, being at the Head of a Sect which has constantly supported the M——r in all his strenuous Endeavours for Power, and Designs upon his Country, was attended to with greater Deference, and had more Weight than the Remonstrances of two Millions of faithful *American* Subjects, who were still totally neglected: So much can the Interest of one Man, who heads a factious Sect in favour of a M——r, prevail

vail beyond the public Good of the Subjects of this Kingdom, and the Honour of it's Sovereign.

FORT *Lequesne*, seated on the *Ohio*, in those Lands which were granted to this Quaker, was the Object which General *Braddock*, and the *British* Forces were destined to demolish; the *French* were to be dislodged from these Parts, at all Adventures.

AND in this Place it must strike the Sense of every Man who reflects one Moment, that this very Person, whose passive Principles of Christian Patience prevent him from bearing Arms in Defence of this Land, which was granted him, had yet the unrelenting Conscience to obtain many Hundreds of his Fellow-Subjects to oppose their Lives, and fall a Sacrifice in repossessing his Property. Such are the Proceedings of this Sect of Anti-constitutional and pernicious Beings.

THE Expedition, however, being set on foot, the same identical Quaker, who had Influence sufficient to get it resolved on at first, had yet the farther Interest of it's being destined to defend *Virginia*: The Reason of this will soon appear more evident; and here, notwithstanding we should allow Fort *Lequesne* to be a Place which ought to be attacked, we must insist that *Pennsylvania* was the Place where the Troops ought to have been disembarked.

FIRST, This Country being fuller of Inhabitants, and all kinds of Handicraft Workmen, could have easily supplied whatever an Army might have stood in need of at that Time. *Virginia* being a Land cultivated by Negroes, must, for that Reason, be more destitute of *European* Settlers, than Colonies where Blacks are not in use.

SECONDLY, The additional Numbers which might have been thought necessary to have been raised for this Expedition on the *Ohio*, would have been more easily levied in *Pennsylvania* than *Virginia*.

THIRDLY, The requisite Attendants of a Military Expedition, such as Horses, Carts, Cattle, Provision, and all kinds of Tools, are in greater Plenty in *Pennsylvania*

sylvania than *Virginia*. This is evident from the Necessity the Army in *Virginia* was under, of having those Utensils and Supplies from *Pensylvania* before it marched.

FOURTHLY, The March of the Troops to Fort *Lequesne* from *Philadelphia*, had been for a much longer Part of the Road through a settled and cultivated Country, where all Kinds of Refreshments which are useful for an Army in hot Countries, and fatiguing Marches, might have been supplied with greater Ease.

THE important Advantages which attended *Pensylvania* above *Virginia*, though represented to our M——rs in the most strong and demonstrative Manner, were all neglected and over-ruled by the private Interest and Opinion of one Quaker.

Tantum ille potuit suadere malorum.

Is it not obvious to all Apprehensions that a Tobacco Merchant, especially if he be the Head of his Profession in *London*, must have more Interest in *Virginia* than in *Pensylvania*, his Correspondence being with the former, which produces the Commodity he traffics in, and not with the *Philadelphians*, who do not raise that Merchandize?

Is it not certain also from the Necessity of Trade, that he must have many outstanding and dubious Debts in that Colony, and from the Nature of Man, and more particularly from the Nature of a Quaker, that he must wish to have these hazardous Debts rendered more probable to be paid; and with this Intent, that he would embrace an Opportunity of putting his Debtors in a Way of discharging them whatever his Country might suffer? As his Correspondence is the largest of any Merchant's in this City with the Colony of *Virginia*, and his Interest the strongest with the M——r, he clearly foresaw that an Army sent to *Virginia* could not be sustained without large Sums of Money, and that the Remittance of it must fall to his

his Share : which very Circumstance being attended with at least two and a half *per Cent.* was an Object too replete with Advantages to be neglected by a Money-loving Mercantile Man, detached from all other Considerations of Advantage.

THESE Circumstances then duly attended to, would they not persuade many a Man, who is not firmly convinced of the sincere disinterested Spirit and patriot Love which animates a Quaker's Heart, that *Virginia* was preferred to *Pennsylvania* for the lucrative Considerations abovementioned ?

BUT as this Sect has ever behaved with such particular Zeal to defend their own Country, and singular Attachment to it's Welfare, divested of all Desire of private Advantage, what can the most malevolent Imagination suggest against the Behaviour of this individual Quaker ?

LET me then suppose a Thing not absolutely impossible, That this Design of his procuring the Troops to be sent to *Virginia*, took it's Source from an Error of Judgment ; that the Good of his Country was his Object, tho' he was mistaken in his Aim, and though his private Interest was the sole Result of his Design, yet he proposed it for the Public. How shall we, even in this View of Things, apologize for the M——rs who were drawn into so palpable a Mistake ?

THOUGH it might be allowed, that Merchants may be vindicated in not understanding to what Part of the *American* Continent a Military Force ought to be sent, which was destined to attack Fort *Lequesne*, yet a M——r, whose peculiar Province it is to superintend the Public Welfare, the Lives, Properties, Advantages, and Commerce of his Fellow-Subjects in Peace and War, cannot avoid Condemnation for such mistaken and fatal Judgment.

THERE may indeed be Men who may imagine, that this Quaker was truly acquainted with the Difference and Disadvantage which attended *Virginia* more than *Pennsylvania*, and that Self-Interest, more than the public

public Welfare, weighed in obtaining the Troops being sent to the Colony of *Virginia*. If this Notion should meet a general Reception among Mankind, how shall we then account for a M——r's being duped to the Interest of a private Quaker, or reconcile national Disgrace and slender Intellects, with the Duty of Directing in Peace and War, the Affairs of a whole Nation?

From what has been said, does it not evidently appear, that allowing Fort *Lequesne* to be an Object which demanded our Attention, and that a Military Force was necessary to be sent from these Kingdoms to reduce it, that *Virginia* was the Spot which ought not to be preferred to *Pennsylvania*?

This then, absurd as it may appear, is even less than what we shall soon lay before your Eyes; shall we venture to assert, that the whole Armament which was designed and sent to the Demolition of this little Fortification, the Money which it has and will cost the Nation, and Lives which it has lavished in the Service of a non-resisting Quaker, were altogether useless and unnecessary; nay, that even Success in the Expedition to this Fort, could have been attended with no possible Advantage, whether the Attempts of the *Americans* succeed or miscarry at *Niagara* and *Crown Point*.

To prove what we have here suggested, let us cast our Eyes over Mr. *Huske's* Map of *North-America*, by much the most accurate of all those which have been given to the Public.

LET us observe from what Part of the Dominions possessed by the *French*, the Supplies, Provision, and Men necessary for the Supporting Fort *Lequesne*, must be drawn.

It is a truth universally acknowledged, that *Casada* is the only part which can afford these Requisites to the Parts where the *French* Forts are built from *Quebec* to Fort *Lequesne*; this happens because the Method is by an easy Transit, and Things are com-

commodiously transported, the whole Distance being almost Water-Carriage, from the Mouth of *St Lawrence* River to the Forts on the *Ohio*.

THE *Mississippi* is too distant for a March by Land; and the Navigation of the meandering *Ohio* too long to be attempted by Water. Indeed it is a known Fact, that the *Northern* Settlements of the *French* supply all these Parts with Recruits, Ammunition, and Provision.

To attack Fort *Lequesne* at all then seems absolutely absurd; because all Supplies for that Place being necessitated to pass by the Fortification at *Niagara*, situated between the two Lakes *Erie* and *Ontario*, whoever becomes Master of that Fort, necessarily cuts off all Communication and Power of Support from Fort *Lequesne*; and this latter Place must of consequence surrender itself in a very little Time, into the Hands of those who possess *Niagara*: This Assertion is as true, as that the Power which can cut off the River *Thames* at *Maidenhead*, and turn it into a new Channel, prevents *Windsor* from being supplied with that Water.

THIS Fortification of *Niagara* then, situated between the Lakes, being absolutely the Pass by which all Supplies must go to *Lequesne*, the taking that alone should have been the Object of our Forces.

THE Design on *Lequesne*, supposing all to have been honest that produced it, could have taken it's Rise from nothing but want of Knowledge in common Geography: No Eye that follows the Course in the Map, which is always taken by the *Canadian French* from *Quebec* to Fort *Lequesne*, but must be necessarily convinced that the taking *Niagara* would have answered all the Purposes of possessing that and *Lequesne*.

THUS the disgraceful Defeat of our Army; the Disreputation of our General, the Destruction of our Subjects, the Expence of the Expedition; and Dishonour of the Nation, might have been prevented.

BUT alas ! such has been the undeviating Custom of the *English*, since the Administration of the late Earl of *Or—d*, to bear Insults from all Nations inattentively, 'till the Reservoir of Injuries being full, the Banks are broken down, and the Torrent of Resentment rushing forth with too much Impetuosity, destroys by it's Violence and Quantity, the very Benefit which it would otherwise have afforded by being deliberately and justly dispensed abroad.

Too slow in our Resolves in the Beginning, and too impetuous in the Execution of them at last, the Zeal for doing, too frequently defeats the Reasons and Powers which conduct and support our Enterprizes.

THERE are not wanting indeed Men well acquainted with those Parts of *America*, who, with great Appearance of Truth, and Force of Argument, alledge, that a few armed Vessels on the Lake *Ontario*, would have secured us a safe and easy Conquest of *Niagara* and Fort *Lequesne*. It is indubitably true, that no Ship of Force or Burden can enter that Lake from the Head of the River *St. Lawrence* : Consequently the *English* Ships being first set a swimming on the Lake *Ontario*, they must have prevented all Supplies from going by Water to *Niagara*, as well as destroyed all Ships pretended to be built on the Borders of the Lake by the *French* ; as the *English* by that Conduct would become absolute Masters of that Water.

HENCE, by the cruizing of these Ships, it being rendered impracticable to supply *Niagara* and Fort *Lequesne*, a few Months consuming the present Provision, would have given us Possession of both ; Famine being an Enemy which no human Power can resist.

THUS then, by observing this Conduct, a small Expence, a prudent Patience, a steady Perseverance, and a little Time, would have accomplished what has already failed in one Part.

LET us however suppose, that it was absolutely necessary that an Army should be sent to the besieging Fort *Lequesne* from *England* ; shall we be permitted the Liberty of asking those who chose the General

sal for this Expedition, and directed the Undertaking, Whether a hot impetuous Arrogance of Temper is that which is adapted by Nature, or should be pitched upon in a Man, who is sent to command an Army in a new Land, where Hardships, more than in *European* Countries, must be undergone by the Soldier, where Affability and Compassion, Gaiety, Popularity, and Encouragement in a General, are the necessary Ingredients to sweeten and palliate the Bitterness of that Draught which War administers to the Taste of all Nations, and to win the People to his Confidence and Obedience?

WOULD a Man of common Understanding have sent a self-willed, self-sufficient, rash Commander, to oppose an Enemy in a Country replete with Opportunities and Situations for Ambuscade and Snare? The Genius of which People is to combat their Enemies in that way of Fighting; a Man whose very Presumption, Idea of Security, and Contempt of his Enemy, effectually deceived him into the Ruin of his brave Officers and his Army, with an Addition of Disgrace to his own peculiar Destruction; such a Disposition in a General, is a greater Advantage to a discreet Enemy than a thousand fighting Men added to their Party.

AND here permit me to observe, that it seems owing to this want of Judgment in those who have long appointed our Commanding Officers, that the Panic at *Preston Pans*, the Fatality, as it is politely called, at *Falkirk*, the Flight at *Port L'Orient*, and the Disgrace at *Fort Lequesne*, have thus succeeded each other, in a great measure, as well as to the universal Corruption of those Men from which the Soldiery are generally collected.

HAD the Soldiers possessed a full Confidence in either of the Generals, who commanded on those Days, they would probably have behaved with the same Spirit they did at *Culloden*, when the Duke of *Cumberland*, in whom every Soldier confided, led

them to an easy Conquest, and routed the Rebels at that Place.

IT is this Confidence of an Army in their General which unites every Hand into one Action, animates every Heart to the same Obedience, and executes, by a happy Belief in their General's Excellence, what is vainly expected from the exact Discipline of Exercise in a *Martinet*; these are the Means, and not the Regularity of moving the Legs of a whole Rank, which incite and carry a Soldier on to Victory.

FROM what has been already said, is it not self-evident, that General *Braddock* should, instead of dividing his Powers, have marched in Union with Mr. *Shirley* to *Niagara*, if they were determined to take that Fort by a land Force?

BUT by thus having divided their Forces, and his being defeated four Days before Mr *Shirley* began his march for *Niagara*, Mr *Braddock* has given his Enemies that received him so fatally near Fort *Lequesne*, the unexpected Opportunity and Advantage of being at *Niagara* before the *Americans* under the Command of Mr *Shirley*, and assisting their Countrymen with all the Ammunition, Cannon, and Baggage, which were taken at this disgraceful Defeat; This Circumstance, if it should not totally prevent, will absolutely retard the taking *Niagara*, produce more Bloodshed, and expend more Money.

WHEN we reflect on the Behaviour of our Troops on this disastrous Spot, so fatal to *English* Honour, how can we refrain from observing that the Irregulars of the Provinces held their Bosoms firm against that Battle, and that Danger from which the Regulars and Disciplined Troops turned away; and that native Courage supplied to the uncorrupted *American*, what Art and Discipline could not impart to the Soldiers of *Great-Britain*.

THIS, in my Opinion, offers an invincible Proof, that a Militia in this Kingdom, raised amongst the Farmers and Peasants, where Virtue yet remains in a
much

much greater Degree, than amongst that corrupt Rabble of perjured Corporation Borough-men, from whom the Soldiers are chiefly collected, where every moral and religious Influence being effaced by Bribery and Venality, all Sense of Honour and Duty is destroyed, would be a more effectual Defence of the Kingdom from all foreign Attacks, than ten times the Number of standing Troops, composed of such miserable Miscreants.

BUT alas ! such is the Difference in Judgment and Conduct of that M——y which directs the Affairs of *France* and this Kingdom, the Subjects of a Free Nation are not permitted to know the Use of Arms, and defend themselves, their Liberties, King, and Country ; whilst those which we treat as Slaves in that Nation, are encouraged to the Use of Military Discipline, and entrusted with Arms to defend, alas, what we call neither Liberty nor Property. Shew me a greater Paradox in all Nature, and explain to me the Motives to this Behaviour in the different M——rs on justifiable Reasons, why a free People should be denied the Power of defending their Freedom, and those under a Monarchic Government should be openly encouraged to fight for Slavery ? Is Bravery more natural to Slaves than Freemen ? or is Despotism a more animating Motive to the Person who lives under it, than the Charms of Liberty ?

THUS, my Countrymen, I have, with the utmost Impartiality, laid before your Eyes the true Proceedings of those who have lately conducted our Fleets and Armies. From this View does it not too plainly appear, that the Direction of each has been totally mistaken ? Providence indeed, in pity to this favourite Isle, has almost deviated from the common Course of Nature, and once more saved it's Fleets from Disgrace, in spite of all the Ignorance that superintended them. A Miracle only could have saved the Army commanded by a self-willed General, who arrogantly despising the Powers of his Enemy, fell the Victim of his own Folly and their superior Knowledge. How

How contemptible must we appear in the Eyes of all *Europe*, from this Imbecility of M——— Judgment in the Choice of Generals; what Expectations of Success may not our Foes flatter themselves with, from this visible Inequality of Understanding in those who direct, to the Greatness of those Powers which are to be conducted by them during a War, when they have seen a State the strongest in maritime Force so totally divested of all Advantage, by the sinister Application of it's Navy; an immense Fleet preventing not their Enemies from being supplied with every thing necessary to support themselves during a War? What must we conceive will be the ultimate Event, when M——rs, by the natural Bent of their Understanding, can defeat all our Armaments with scarce an Enemy to oppose them? Will they, whose Capacities, in Tranquillity and at Ease, might have planned the Destruction of their Enemies Fleet, and yet have failed, be equal to the Conduct of a general War, and Success?

WILL not those, who have been the ductile Dupes of their own Incapacity, and a Quaker's self-interested Designs, in appointing useless Expeditions and unequal Generals, be eternally bewildered in the Turbulence of a general War, and the Attention which is necessary to a Multiplicity of Affairs?

WILL those then be less open to the Schemes of their Enemies, than to their own Follies, and the Designs of their deceitful Countrymen? Will those Eyes which could not discern the true Object that should be pursued, when one only was in Agitation, be capable of supervising to the infinite Calls of a general War?

WHAT more beneficial Suggestion in Favour of *France* could Monsieur *Macbault* have insinuated into the Imagination of our M——r, than this, of concealing the Fleet of *England* in Fogs impenetrable to human Vision, rendering them invisible and useless? Who but this *Boyes* in Politics can elevate and surprise

prize in so amazing a manner? He has concealed his Ships in Darkness as effectually as his Namesake did, his Army at *Knightbridge*. Is not this, as a certain Speaker in P——t began his Speech; “New in Politics, new in War, and new in Council.”

It is more than probable that *Macnamara*, not meeting our Fleet in the *European Seas*, had Orders to return, and confide in their Invisibilty on the Banks of *Newfoundland* for their safe Arrival in *America*. In this how little was he deceived?

HENCE it too evidently appears, that we are in that sinking State which, through all Ages, has attended the Want of Understanding and Virtue. If then the Resurrection of a Nation from Sloth and Corruption, to Honour and Esteem, depend on the Capacity of those M——rs who direct it, how dreary and barren is the Prospect which is eternally offered to our Eyes?

Is it not the settled Rule of Providence, that the best Understandings shall always prevail at last, though in the Beginning sometimes the contrary appears true; yet here, alas, we want that flattering Commencement. It is like the Calculation of Chances; though the Person that deals at *Pharo* may be worsted once or more, he must infallibly get the better at the Year's End, and ruin those who engage with him at the Conclusion. If then the Direction of M——l Affairs run on in this Channel, what shall defend us from National Destruction, which comes sailing down before the Wind and Current full armed upon us?

BUT as my Intent in this Letter is to admonish you, my Countrymen, before it be too late, and not impute that to a criminal Heart which is but Error in Understanding; to clear myself of all Malevolence against the private Characters of those who superintend; I most sincerely believe, that no pernicious Intention in the M——y has been the Cause of these ill-judged Undertakings

undertakings and Miscalriages; they have not taken their Source from Spleen, or Resentment to a Party; which too often warping the Minds of M—rs, drives them into unbecoming Actions; their private Resentment urging them to the public Ruin.

In this Instance, their Hearts being not culpable; will excuse them for this single Essay of their Incapacity, in the Opinion of all honest Men: But if the Ambition of presiding in public Affairs, a Passion too often and too fatally mixed with Weakness of Understanding, should still goad them on to direct and ruin, what will then be their Due from your Hands?

YET even tho' Incapacity may plead a Pardon, it does not annihilate the Disgrace which attends the Nation in consequence of it: Tho' the Punishment due to premeditated Villainy cannot be imputed to the Charge of those Directors, yet the Sufferers are not alleviated by that Consideration in the Distress which they bring to a Nation. Weakness and Incapacity are even more fatal and destructive than a wicked Heart joined to superior Intellects in a M—r: This last, thro' pure Understanding, will exert every Faculty; conceiving his own and his Country's Interest inseparably united; his Judgment will correct his Mistakes, and re-instate what may have been originally wrong: But want of Intellect is irremediable; no human Power can correct that Error; it's natural Lumpishness, like Gravitation in Matter, making it tend for ever to the Center of Darkness; like Impotence in Nature, producing nothing but ill-shaped Monsters: It is the most incurable of all Diseases of the Mind.

WHAT I wish then, is not to rouse you to the Destruction of these Men, but to your own Preservation; to awaken your Attention, that nods over the Ruin which surrounds you, that, like the paralytic Stroke, seems to benumb your Faculties. Rise then to the Salvation of your expiring Country; urge to your Representatives the Resolution of obtaining a superior Understanding, as essentially necessary to the Preservation
of

of this Kingdom, which ought to be dear to every *Englishman*.

Do not imagine I mean to intimidate you with the Dread of Perils, or alarm you with the Idea of *French* Power, to the asking an ignominious Peace. I am no Advocate but for my Country, and for *English* Glory: All I intreat you is, not by exclaiming against *French* Perfidy to lose the Sight of displacing those, who, by the Want of Understanding, are yet greater Enemies to this Nation.

As I know that Success must ultimately depend on Prudence and Understanding, that Heaven has originally determined that Human Glory shall be the Slave of these and Virtue, as your Lives and Properties, Liberties and Religion, must be the ignominious Victims of wrong Judgment. Remember how dangerously you are at present situated. Will not one Miscarriage in *Europe* push you headlong into the Gulf of Perdition, from that Precipice on which you at present stand exposed?

LET not the Clamour of Dispatch, and Impetuosity of Warlike Preparation, deceive you into an Opinion of these Men. The headstrong Horse, whose Violence carries him without the Course, as effectually loses the Race as that which is distanced: The Traveler who rides Post out of the Way, is at the Evening only more tired and farther distant from his Home than he who trots on soberly; and Fleets and Armies, destined by strong misguided Impulse to wrong Places, useless and inapplicable Designs, only sooner exhaust the Powers of a Nation.

LET me implore you then to remonstrate to Majesty itself, if your Representatives refuse your Petition, that able Heads may direct his Councils; and that Arms be intrusted to your Hands, in whom Safety can be only placed; who love your King and Country, and are ready to offer up your Lives a Sacrifice to their Preservation and Welfare.

Will not stand thus, almost naked, and exposed to the Attacks and Insults of Two hundred thousand Soldiers, defended by less than twenty thousand: A Battle lost in this life decides the Fate of *England*. Remedy those Evils; place yourselves, your King, and Country in Security; chastise your Enemies by Sea. Believe me in what I have uttered, lest, like the *Trojans* who neglected the Prophecies of *Cassandra*, self-sufficient, inattentive, and secure, you bewail too late the predicted Evil, when no human Powers can remove the Weight of that Ruin which now hangs threatening over you.

FINIS.



A SECOND LETTER

TO THE

People of *England*.

ON

FOREIGN SUBSIDIES,
SUBSIDIARY ARMIES,



AND

Their Consequences to this NATION.

*Quo ruis? inquit.
Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.*

Vinc. Encl.

THE SIXTH EDITION.

L O N D O N:

Printed in the YEAR, 1756.

E 2

A SECOND

LETTER

TO THE

MEMBERS OF THE

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION

OF

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NEW YORK

A
L E T T E R
 T O T H E
People of England.

L E T T E R II.

IN all Governments constituted like this of which you have the good Fortune to be born Members, where the Legislative Power is the People's Right, and the Executive belongs to the King, indeed, wherever it is of the mixed Kind, it is impossible, from the changeable Nature of all human Institutions, but the Balance which ought to be preserved between the Prince and the Subject must be destroyed, and the Scale preponderate sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other.

HOWEVER upright and able Men may be in planning a Form of Government, such is the fluctuating State of all human Things, that no opulent Nations can long proceed in the right Way, without frequently returning to the first Principles on which they were established.

IT becomes, therefore, the indispensable Duty of every Subject, who sees the Weight increasing in one Scale, to point out the Evil immediately, lest it grow too great to be removed, without causing more Struggle, Tumult, Bloodshed, and Desolation, than even bad Men (one would imagine) can wish to see in their native Land.

WHOMSOEVER therefore shall have Fortitude enough to expose the pernicious Designs of a wicked M—r,
 and

and his more profligate Adherents, notwithstanding their Attempts to blast his Endeavours with the poisonous Appellation of Faction, or even of Jacobitism, must ever be esteemed, by all good Men, as the Lover of his Country, and Friend to Mankind.

DESPOTISM on one Hand, and Anarchy on the other, are the Consequences to be dreaded from a King's or People's Power, increased beyond the due Proportion; one half of either side of that vast and solid Arch which sustains a whole Nation, being weakened by undermining the Whole which it supported, without sudden Help, tumbles into everlasting Ruin.

If the despotic Inclinations of *Charles I.* were grievous to Men who were born the lawful Heirs of Liberty, was the Anarchy that succeeded less terrible?

BOTH Extremes then being proved by the Histories of those Times to be alike fatal to the King and Subject, all possible Care should be taken to prevent such Evils: and early too, before the heated Ambition of a few Men shall dare to plunge the Nation into the Abyss of Confusion and Distress, by Attempts to fix themselves in absolute Power.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Revolution may be justly denominated the *Æra* of establishing *English* Liberty on a rational Plan of Government, yet the Consequences of Men's Pursuit of Power may be such, that the Equilibrium which was then settled may be lost, and the Scale incline too much on one side; when this shall happen, *England*, to preserve it's Liberties, should again attempt to vindicate the Advantages of her happy Constitution.

WHOEVER therefore shall dare to assert, that an *Englishman* has no Right to oppose the exorbitant Power of a Prince upon the Throne, is an Advocate for passive Obedience, and an Enemy to the Revolution.

In like manner, if it be lawful to oppose the despotic Designs of a Sovereign, who may be taking gigantic Strides to subvert the Laws, change the established

blished Religion, and set up an arbitrary Power on it's Ruins; it must be just to resist every other Part of our Constitution, which may invade the Rights and Privileges of their Fellow-Subjects.

THE Commons of *England* are the Representatives of the People; five hundred Men are intrusted with the Liberties, Properties, and Privileges of Millions.

If this Number, elected for the Public Good, instead of supporting the Honour and Prerogatives of the Crown, protecting their Constituents, and the People, shall at any time be rendering the Sovereign dependent on his M——r, fleecing the Millions to enrich the Hundreds, and betraying their Countrymen to iniquitous and ministerial Views, can the People of this Land, the Millions, the Men of Property and Understanding, still Lovers of their Country, be condemned for opposing such pernicious Proceedings, or I, your Fellow-Subject, for knocking at your Breasts, and awakening those Hearts within, which sleep supinely inattentive to their Country's Danger?

It has been lately propagated, with no small Industry, that the P——t, as a Legislative Body has a Right to make what Laws it pleases; and that our Representatives, once elected, are accountable to no one for their Proceedings. Nothing can be a more fatal Insinuation to the Ear of an *Englishman* than this, if it should find Acceptance amongst Mankind.

MAN, from the very Nature of his Being, can never be supposed to delegate a Right to his Representative, contrary to his own Welfare and Felicity, much less a whole Nation to it's own Destruction. *Ne quid Detrimenti capiat Respublica*, is the Condition of his being chosen and appointed. It is therefore an Absurdity to imagine, that Men can delegate a Power of injuring themselves, to those who are elected for the universal Welfare: Ye are Inheritors of the Constitution of this Realm from your Fathers, and are bound, by all the Ties of Nature and Justice, to deliver

liver it intire to your Sons ; many of whom being yet unborn, or too young to bequeath Power to the Representatives of the Nation, cannot justly, by their Predecessors, be deprived of the most valuable of all Inheritance, their Liberty.

To chuse Men as national Representatives and Protectors of the Public Good, and then suppose they have a Right to act contrary to the Interest of their Constituents, is to imagine, that Physicians, chosen to superintend and cure the Sick in Hospitals, have a Right to kill their Patients, if they please.

COMMON Humanity, and the Sensation of all honest Hearts, fly in the Face of such Assertion; and yet some insidious or informing Emissary, is eternally advancing such Absurdities, in Favour of a M——r, in Opposition to the Glory of that K—— he pretends to revere, and the Good of that People he affects to love.

Is not a Parliament by Nature and the Constitution established, equally obliged with the Prince upon the Throne, not to violate or exceed the Measures, which tend to the Public Welfare? Is it not therefore a heinous Insult on the common Understanding of this Nation, to assert, that six Millions of People, many of superior Sense, Family, and Property, to those who represent them, have impowered their Guardians to squander their Possessions, convert the public Revenue to private Uses, and general Destruction; and bind, in ministerial Fetters, the Hands of those Men whose Freedom they are elected to preserve?

Is it not from the Nature of our Constitution that a P—— exists? Can it be imagined then, that a Part dependent on the Whole, can have a Right to destroy that very Being from which it derives it's Existence? Ought not that Nation therefore, which, unremonstrating, permits her Servants to assassinate her, or runs on that Sword which she has given into the Hands of others for her Protection, though she does not stab herself, to be deemed equally guilty of Suicide, with Men who commit that unnatural Act? and, like those
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Self-Destroyers, will it not be ignominiously buried in Rubbish and the Highway?

To assert the contrary of this self-evident Truth, is but to change the Face of Despotism; will not the absolute Power which was so justly complained of, and so righteously opposed, in Kings, before the Revolution, be thus transferred from them to the P——? In this other View, Tyranny has only changed the Place of her Abode: Is the Sultan less despotic at his Summer's Seraglio than at *Constantinople*? Do his Subjects enjoy more Liberty by his residing at one Place than another?

WHAT Power amongst Men can be more arbitrary than that which can bind your Hands in Chains, by Laws which it enacts, according to it's arbitrary Inclination, and levies what Money it pleases on your properties, unexamined, unproved, and uncontroled? And this, it may be, for the private Advantage of a Majority of those, who constitute this Power to your Impoverishment.

THAT P—— then, which, inattentive to it's Charge, and unjust to the Confidence reposed in them by their Fellow-Countrymen, shall proceed diametrically opposite to your Welfare, must, in the Eye of Reason, be conceived as acting arbitrarily and illegally, and violating the Constitution by which it exists.

It is the common Custom of all those, who presume to defend the present Ad——n, to ask, in Opposition to those who complain of the Mal-Conduct of publick Affairs, whether we are not governed by Laws legally instituted?

To which I answer, by asking, If any Law can be said to be legally instituted, which may be enacted by Men chosen contrary to Law, and exceeding the Design of their Institution? If Bribery and Corruption, influencing the Elections of the national Representatives of this Kingdom, are absolutely contrary to the established Laws of this Realm; can then the Member, who is chosen by Means of corrupt Influence and Perjury, in direct Opposition to the Legislature, be
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legally endowed with the Power of making Laws?

If this Question be answered in the Affirmative, tell me then the Difference between the Ideas, which attend the Words Legal and Illegal? Will not this fatal Absurdity be the Consequence of such an answer, that if one Set of Men, illegally chosen, shall ever presume to enact Laws, that all others have an equal Right to it? What Reason can be assigned, why one Part of this Nation shall be excluded from an Authority of doing whatever is done by another, which has no legal Right to Superiority of Power?

NAY, will Disobedience to Laws, made by Men who have been elected contrary to the established Rules of the *English* Constitution, be a greater Breach of the Legislative Power, than that which these Legislators committed in procuring their Elections?

THE criminal Means of procuring Seats in P——, though they may never be openly proved against the Transgressors, are they for that Reason the less *true* in the impartial Eye of Justice? And who, from the Post-Boy that guides a Post Chaise on the Road, to him that misguides his K— and Country in the Ad——n, is ignorant of this Truth, that Seats in P——t have been obtained by Bribery and Corruption?

Is it not the Commission of the Action, and not the Conviction of the Judge and Jury, which constitutes the Crime in all who dare to violate the Laws of their Country?

LET us, however, through pure Indulgence to the Dissolute, suppose the greatest of all Contradictions, that Men, illegally chosen, are yet lawfully authorized to constitute and appoint Laws for the good Government of a Kingdom; does it thence follow, that they are endowed with Authority to make Acts diametrically opposite to the Publick Welfare? Can the three Letters, which compose the Word L A W, change the Nature of Right and Wrong? Will Robbery, Adultery, or Murder, enacted by a P——, transmute the Nature of these Crimes? Will they not, in Opposition

[43]
position to ten Million Acts of a Legislature, instituted in their Favour, remain as cruel and detestable as before to every humane Bosom?

If an Act is once passed the House of C—, does it thence follow, that it must be absolutely complied with without Complaint or Remonstrance, especially if it contain Conditions destructive to all that is valuable amongst Men? Are the Laws of *England*, like those of the *Medes* and *Persians*, to remain unalterable because they are made?

THROUGH this thin Argument the Fallacy manifestly appears; or, it must be granted, that *Englishmen*, of all the People of *Europe*, are particularly doomed to Slavery. How can the effeminate Dastards of the East more effectually express the abject State of their Existence, than by tamely complying with whatever is ordained them?

It is the unmanly yielding to this ignominious Imposition, which confirms the Condition of Slavery, and not the Source from whence it proceeds: The Acts of an E—b P—t, whenever they shall be arbitrary, and the despotic Mandates of a *Persian Sophi*, are equally tyrannical, though the first may seem to be the Voice of a Majority of more than Five Hundred, and the latter of one Man.

I SAY seem, because it may easily happen, that a M——r may dictate as despotically as a *Sophi*, and the Voice of more than Three Hundred M——rs be no more than the Reverberation of as many Echoes, from a Place formed with the Power of multiplying one Sound equal to that Number.

LAWS may become the most tyrannical of all Oppression, even more to be dreaded than the Despotism of Kings; for which Reason, every good Representative of the People will with Pleasure receive whatever can be offered for or against them by his Fellow-Subjects.

KINGS, when they invade the Liberties of their Subjects, are soon discovered; the Breach is visible, the Inroad felt, and the People soon alarmed

alarmed, and on their Guard to oppose it; the Object and the Design are open to their Senses: But Laws, enacted under the Sanction of deliberate Debate, and digested maturely by Men selected to defend the Publick Weal, bear the Appearance of being instituted with Justice, and according to the original Design of our happy Constitution.

THINGS conducted in this Manner wear no open Face of Injustice, no external Mark of arbitrary Power; the People, deluded and deceived by the Glare of this specious Varnish, unaccustomed to examine Things to the Bottom, believe these Acts are just, because they are made by those whose Duty it is to enact no other than the Laws of Truth and Justice.

I IMAGINE then it will be allowed me, that Laws which violate the Constitution, create Inequality in the Course of distributive Justice, pillage the many to enrich the few, alter the primary Dispositions of human Nature, sacrifice the publick Good to private Emoluments, and *English* Property to Foreign Interest, are such Laws, as even a P—— legally chosen, can hardly have an Authority to enact.

If ever then a P—— should be unconstitutionally elected, and carry such Laws into Execution, will not this be a double Breach of the established Constitution of E——d? What will such Men offer to their Constituents in Favour of themselves; or how will that M——r defend himself who, though perhaps, without the Subtily of the Serpent, may, like that Reptile, transfuse his Poison through a House of C——s, to the Ruin of his native Land, as it was through the Mother of all, to that of human Race?

Laws, in a Free State, are the standing Defence of the People; by these alone they ought to be judged, and none enacted but such as are impartially conceived; the Peer should possess no Privilege destructive to the Commoner; the Layman obtain no Favour which is denied the Priest; nor the Necessitous excluded from the Justice which is granted to the Wealthy: Unless these Things are truly preserved,
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the Laws, which should defend the People's Property, are, like the Body-Guards of a King corrupted, the more to be dreaded, because the Liberties of the first, as the Life of the latter, are more immediately in their Hands.

WHEN Charles I. presumed to levy Taxes on his Subjects without their Consent, this Design was not opposed by them, because it proceeded from the King, but because it was contrary to the Constitution, and illegal: In like manner, whenever a P——t shall enact Laws destructive of the Public Good, such Proceedings will be equally contrary to the Constitution; and if such Transactions in a King are justly denominated Tyranny, tell me by what Name I shall distinguish similar Designs, if ever they are found in a House of C——?

IF opposing the arbitrary Efforts of a Sovereign, were Acts of the most heroic Nature, and most laudable Design, if passive Obedience to a crowned Head be the Height of Slavery, learn from thence, that Opposition to illegal Proceedings in K—or C——, is equally praise-worthy and virtuous: Without behaving in this Manner, it must be granted, that Resistance to the Kings of old was personal Pique, and not patriot Justice; Resentment against the individual Man, and not a Vindication of your just Rights. Thus you see that Tyranny is the same, from whatever Source it springs; and the Arguments and Truth which justified our Forefathers in opposing the arbitrary Proceedings of one Head, though surrounded with a Diadem, will support you in the same Behaviour against any Hydra-headed Minister, or Hundred-handed *Briareus*, which may attempt to scale the Heaven of your Constitution.

I HAVE said thus much to shew you, as clearly as as I could, what appears to me to be the true Power of P——t: To do Good they have, and ought to have, unlimited Power; but their Power to do Evil, surely, ought to be under some Restraint: Whether they have a Power to institute Laws to the Ruin

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of their Country? is a Question that never can arise; it can only be, Whether the Laws proposed are in themselves pernicious or beneficial?

WHOEVER then shall endeavour to set in a clear Light the Utility or Destruction which may follow from a Law before it is enacted, will undoubtedly be considered with a favourable Eye; and though his Counsel be but a Mite added to the Whole, the Goodwill and patriot Love with which it is offered, will render it not unacceptable to the highest Wisdom.

It may not be amiss then to examine the Effects which a Subsidiary Army may have on this Kingdom, if a War should be begun on the Continent: To set in a clear Light the Advantages or Disadvantages which it may produce to this Country, and, from History and past Transactions, infer what may result from the Supporting such a military Force with the Revenues of *England*.

PERHAPS there are few Things which can come before the Mind of a M——r, that require more Deliberation and Prudence, than that of hiring Subsidiary Troops for the Protection or Service of that Kingdom which he superintends, or more replete with Danger to the Liberties and Properties of the Subject, or even to the Crown itself.

EVERY righteous Statesman, in all his national Proceedings, cannot but intend promoting the Public Welfare: His Plans for the Public Good will justify his Intention, however adverse the Event of them may prove, and free him from all injurious Imputation in the Sight of his Countrymen.

YET, though it should be allowed that the best conceived Designs may prove abortive in the Execution of them, it must be granted also, that in directing a State there is for ever inseparably connected with good Sense, an Advantage which cannot be found in company with Folly.

A M——r then of weak Intellects can expect nothing but Chance to assist him in his insufficient Schemes; and I fear that Union has too seldom prevailed,

[47]

vailed, to found a national Expectation that the Vagaries of Chance and Folly shall succeed against Reason and good Conduct, in the Management of a Nation's Welfare.

WHENEVER then a Monarch shall entertain the Design of taking an Army of Subsidiary Troops into a Nation's Pay, it behoves the Subjects of that Kingdom, who have yet their Liberties to preserve, and Properties to lose, to be extremely circumspect in relation to the Consequences which such an Undertaking may produce, particularly if a Suspicion of wicked Design may be imagined to be blended with Weakness in the same Head; an Union not uncommon amongst Men exalted to the highest Stations, however fatal it may prove to the public Weal.

I BELIEVE it may be justly ascertained a Maxim in Politics, That no Nation which can defend itself, and effectually annoy it's Enemy, should ever retain mercenary Troops for these Purposes.

To support this Idea, there seems to be many Reasons not easily controverted.

FIRST, The Money with which the Aid of a mercenary Army is purchased, must be a Diminution of the Wealth of that Kingdom which pays them, and therefore detrimental, as it lessens the pecuniary Strength of the People.

SECONDLY, All mercenary Soldiers must for ever be deficient in that animating Spirit, which the Love of their Country infuses through the Soul of every Native. This inspiring Impulse, which Money cannot impart, carries Men on to Conquest, through Contempt of Danger and of Death. To this the great Deeds of all Nations have been chiefly owing, not amongst *Greeks* and *Romans* only, but even amongst the wild *Arabs*, who fought underneath the Standard of *Mahomet*, the *Dalecarlian* Savages under *Gustavus the Swede*, or *Englishmen* at the Fields of *Cressy* and *Agincourt*, in the Days of Conquest, under the Command of our *Edward* and *Henry*.

THIRDLY, Men whose Hearts are actuated to Battle

tle by venal Views and Purchase, are justly suspected to be within the Reach of pecuniary Corruption; that Prince, and that Army which Money bribes to your Assistance, will probably be bought to desert you by a greater Sum: This Consideration ought to efface all Confidence in mercenary Armies.

FOURTHLY, A hireling Army once victorious, perceiving the People, who invited them to their Assistance, unequal to the Task of defending themselves, and resisting their Force, will, in all Probability, set up for themselves, and become their Masters; as did our Ancestors the Saxons, who, solicited by the Britons, to assist them in repelling the Invasion of the Scots and Picts, remained in this Isle, and became Lords of the very Kingdoms they came to protect.

Or lastly, a Man who fears he shall one Day feel the Resentment of a Nation justly enraged against him for sinister Management, may retain these Hirelings in his Service, to subdue with more certainty, and less Danger, that People, which, though he has deprived them of Arms, he has not yet forgot to fear.

THESE Considerations then must necessarily operate strongly against taking mercenary Troops into the Pay of any Nation, in the Minds of all Men who wish well to their native Land, and have no pernicious Designs on the Liberties of their Fellow-Subjects, and the Constitution of the Realm.

LET us now suppose that a War should be declared between France and this Kingdom, and then examine whether England is reduced to the abject State of fearing her Enemies, more than the mercenary Men she may hire to support her Interest and Honour against the military Force of France.

THE first Consideration which offers itself in favour of this Nation is, that no foreign Power can attack it without being obliged to cross the Sea for that purpose.

THE Uncertainty and Danger of that Element, which has more than once preserved us from hostile Invasion

Invasion, is an Advantage of no small Account in our Favour against a Descent from *France*: *Affluvit Deus Et dissipabantur*, was the pious Acknowledgement of the best of Queens for her Success against the *Spanish Armada*.

HOWEVER, without reckoning Storms amongst our Advantages, if we suppose that in all Attempts of an Invasion, a Fleet is necessary to convoy and protect the Enemy in their Passage, and cover them in their Descent, and that a superior naval Force has the Power to intercept and destroy it, in what manner are we to form our Opinion in this Light?

LET us then compare the Fleets of the two Nations, and thence infer what are the probable Consequences of such an Attempt by the *French*.

THE Navy of *England* consists in about two hundred and fifty Men of War, exclusive of Bomb-ketches, Fire-ships, and armed Sloops, in all more than three hundred: the last named being at least equally useful in frustrating such Attempts, as Ships of the Line of Battle.

THE whole Navy of *France*, at the highest Computation, is not equal to one hundred.

THUS then, as far as can be inferred from the Nature of Naval Armaments, and the Utility which can be drawn from them, no Reason can be offered to induce a thinking Man that one hundred *French* Ships of War are a Power which can oppose treble that Number of *English*. Consequently on the Side of the Marine, there cannot be the least Reason to suspect a Necessity for hiring a mercenary Force, to prevent an Invasion from the Armies of the *French* King.

BUT I freely own, my Confidence in Armies is much stronger than in Fleets; and that a Descent on this Realm, divided from the Continent by so narrow a Channel, so suddenly passed with a favourable Wind, secreted by the Darkness of the Night, is too practicable an Undertaking, and may be accomplished in Spite of all naval Opposition.

LET us then examine, in Case an Attempt of that Kind should succeed, how we are provided to repel a Visit of that Nature, when our Enemies being landed, are beyond the Reach of being destroyed by naval Powers.

THE Inhabitants of *England*, exclusive of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, are generally computed at the lowest Account to be about six Millions: Those who have examined, and calculated, with the greatest Accuracy, the Numbers and Age of a People, have laid it down as a certain Truth, that a fifth Part of the Whole, including those from sixteen to sixty, are able to bear Arms.

THUS then *England* alone can furnish one Million two hundred thousand Soldiers in her Defence; and, by adding the four Million Inhabitants of *Ireland* and *Scotland* to the Account, the Sum amounts to two Million of Men, able to oppose the Descent of our Enemies. Of this Number, without Doubt, more than one hundred thousand near *London*, may be summoned together in a few Hours, where Arms and all military Accoutrements are preserved in the *Tower*, for emergent Occasions; and in a few Days, a like Number may be collected in any other Part of this Kingdom, before much national Injury can be perpetrated by the Enemy.

WHAT Force then, allowing the Armies of the *French* King to be ever so numerous, can be embarked and landed with any Prospect of Success, against so formidable a Power as two Millions of Men, able and willing to bear Arms in their King and Country's Defence?

IT is ridiculous to offer a Reason in Vindication of this Truth, the Absurdity glares through the thin Disguise, and is visible to the weakest Understanding. Thus then the natural Powers of *England*, securing us beyond all Suspicion of Danger, to what honest Purpose can Mercenaries be hired, to defend this Nation from the Attacks and Invasions of a foreign Enemy?

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THIS then is the natural Strength and State of our Powers and Defence ; but alas, like brute Matter, it lies inert and unexerted ! Amazing beyond all Credibility ! Two Millions of Men, able and willing to bear Arms in Defence of their King and Country, are treated by the M——r, as Lunatics by Physicians, surrounded with that Waistcoat which deprives them of all bodily Exertion, Twenty thousand only are invested with the Powers of our Defence, instructed in the Art of War and Use of military Weapons, dispersed from the *Orcades* to *Minorca*, whilst the Millions look on and lament their abject Condition, deprived of assisting themselves and Country.

THIS View of our Situation then, sets Things in a new Light, and creates very naturally these Questions ; From what Motive does this Behaviour proceed in the M——r ? And then this other, Whether *England* being so circumstanced, should seek the Aid of foreign Hirelings by pecuniary Powers, or put Arms into the Hands of her own Natives, who stand ready to receive them, and defend her ?

WHETHER the Lives, Liberties, Properties, and Constitution of this Kingdom, shall be intrusted to those, whom every Motive, external and internal, honourable and interesting, must urge to their own Defence, unattended with any possible Disadvantage to this Nation, or to the hireling Hands of foreign Mercenaries, against whose being employed in such an Action, there subsist almost as many Arguments, as against suffering the Island to be invaded and overcome by an Enemy ? Can these Questions need an Examination or Answer ?

PERHAPS some Man, of more Turbulence than Judgment, the humble but violent Retailer of M——l Falshood, may treat this long Disquisition as a lunatic Scroll of a *Bedlamite*, (who, having created a Devil of his own, with a burnt Skewer on the Wall of his Cell, is tilting at it as if it were the very foul Fiend itself) and may assert, that the *French* will neither at-

tempt a Descent, nor the M——y bring into this Isle foreign Subsidiaries to defend us.

To which it is easily answered, by asking, Will a M——r, of common Understanding and Patriot Intentions, trust the Security of this Kingdom to the good Inclination of his Enemy? If he does, and a Descent should prove successful, with what Powers will he repel them? Will a Multitude of Men unaccustomed to Obedience, Discipline, and Arms, like the Teeth of the Dragon, sown by *Cadmus*, start up, and become Soldiers in an Instant at his Command?

HIRELINGS, the base Defence of foreign Mercenaries, must they be called in to your Assistance? *Hessians* and *Dutch*, *Germans*, *Hanoverians*, and *Russians*! Must these be brought to assist the once brave *English*, in repelling the Foes of their native Land?—Abject, degenerate Thought! And yet, if an Invasion be made from *France*, what stronger Reason have you to hinder them from being sent for at this Time, than during the last War, when *Dutchmen* and *Hessians*, to the eternal Infamy of *England*, were landed in this Isle, to protect you against a Rabble of rebellious *Higblanders*, yourselves disarmed, and incapable of Defence? Where then is the Absurdity, of supposing an Enemy should attempt an Invasion against so small an Opposition as the Troops of *England*? or that a M——r, who has already applied for foreign Aid, should again recur to the same Expedient of mercenary Assistance?

Thus then the Reasons against your being armed, lie only in the M——r's Breast, and are relative to him alone; his Designs may possibly controvert the Public Good; and those Mercenaries which will destroy your Liberties, may coincide with his Schemes: Is he not then the Torpor, which benumbs your natural Faculties of War and Resistance? the Source from whence innumerable Calamities will flow to this once happy, free, and martial Kingdom? Thus then your Weakness consists only in your Want of being intrusted with those Arms, which are purchased by your Contributions,

[53]

tions, and in your Strength being with-held from your Hands by the arbitrary Will of a M—s.

BUT as it may probably be urged, that *England* and it's Defence are not the sole Object of having recourse to Subsidiary Troops, let us examine what is.

THE *Balance of Power*, that fascinating destructive Sound, so much in use since the Revolution, so productive of Wars, even more ridiculous than Crusades and combating *Saracens* for recovering the holy Sepulchre, demands the Attention of this Realm; or, this political Equipoise being one destroyed, *England* must perish, alike with all the Powers of *Germany*, and *France* be possessed of universal Monarchy: No Chimera can be more visionary than this Idea of fearing universal Empire, and balancing the States of *Europe*. Will *Germany* conspire against its own Interest, to give *France* the first? Is not this Balance, notwithstanding the Number of Troops and Sums of Money which each State can raise, eternally shifting from Realm to Realm, according to the Understanding and Integrity of Ministers, and Kings who preside and rule them?

THIS Balance, so glorious in Idea, and fatal in it's Effects, which was held by the Hands of our gracious Queen *Anne*, has since been taken from this Land, and is now possessed by the King of *Prussia*, by dint of superior Intellect.

LET us however accede to this Proposition, that the Balance of Power is an Object worthy the Attention of this Nation, as our M—y chuses to inculcate to our Belief.

UNDER the Sanction of this Concession, Are the Arms of *France* a more reasonable Object of dread to this Island than to the Princes of *Germany*? Is our Danger, divided as we are from our Enemy by the Sea, with Powers sufficient to resist all Attacks, greater than that of these Princes, whose Dominions are hourly open to hostile Inroad and Rapine by the first March of the *French Army*? What Claim have they, or what Pre-
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text can be urged to induce this People at any Time to hire the Troops of these very Princes to defend their own Territories? Shall

<i>Hanoverians</i>	_____	16000
<i>Saxons</i>	_____	12000
<i>Hessians</i>	_____	12000
<i>Saxe-Gotbians</i>	_____	6000
<i>Bavarians</i>	_____	8000
<i>Wolfenbuttlers</i>	_____	5000
<i>Darmstadians</i>	_____	4000
<i>Piedmontese</i>	_____	30000
<i>Russians</i>	_____	73000

In all — 166000

be hired as Mercenaries by the Revenues of *England* to defend their own Territories? Not reckoning in this Account the Subsidies which have, and ever must be paid to the *Austrians*, when we have engaged to fight their Battles, and sustain their Interest, at the Perdition of our own.

CAST an Eye on the Map of *Europe*, and remark on what Dominions an Invasion is most probable to fall, if *France* comes to an open Rupture with this Kingdom, and our *German* Allies; and whose more immediate Care it is to arm and defend themselves.

BUT alas! such is our Situation, that no Success, however great, can bring us Advantage; a Conquest influences little more than a Defeat in our favour.

Is there a Truth more self-evident in *Euclid*, than that Nations cannot be long purchased against their own Interest (*England* excepted) but this, that nothing is so ridiculous as attempting to buy them to it: Will *German* Princes long prefer *French* Interest to their own, or neglect to oppose it, if you withdraw your Subsidies? How absurd must be the Head of that *M—r* who can cherish such Conceptions, and act in consequence of them? What intuitive Knowledge in the Actions of Men must he be blessed withal?

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BUT it may be offered in defence of hiring these Mercenaries, that their Masters Inability to defend themselves, makes it necessary that *England* should protect them. Is there in Nature a Reason which ought to induce a Nation to it's own Ruin, in defence of others who are reaping Advantage by our Undoing?

IN Truth, no Assertion is so false as the above: In what manner did these States exist before the Revolution without your Assistance? Have they not the same Means at present? It is the Weakness of our M——y, and fatal Attachments to *German* Interests; the Sums of Money which they have gained, and we uselessly squandered, that turn the Eyes of all these Princes on you. This creates the War, and disunites the *Germanic* Body; otherwise, the Interest of all *Germany*, and the Constitution of the Empire, would unite all *Germany* against the common Enemy; but your interfering, and their pecuniary Ideas and mercenary Passions, foment the Division: Would the King of *Prussia*, and the other States who are inactive, see the *German* Interests defeated, if you did not espouse the Quarrel? But as our M——y behave, his View is extent of Territory, by becoming necessary in the Broil, whilst other *German* Potentates humanely traffic the Lives of their Subjects for the Price of your Gold; the only Manufacture and Commerce which their Countries produce.

THUS then, conscious of the Imbecility of our M——r, they reap the plenteous Harvest of his busy Folly, and thus his preposterous Conduct begins, fomenta, and fosters a Continental War.

BUT lest what has been said should appear like the enthusiastic Fervour of patriot Love impetuously urged in favour of my Country, let us examine the Sentiments of our Forefathers, the Remarks of ancient Wisdom on the Consequences of being united with the States and Interests of the Continent, and then observe what has been the Effects in our own.

THOSE Times, when the Kings of *England* had vast

50
vast Possessions in *France*, will furnish us with many an Observation applicable to the present.

It was then the Opinion of those Men, most celebrated for patriot Love and the clearest Judgment, that the Territories of our Kings in *France* were by no Means to be defended at the Expence of *English* Treasure; they justly distinguished the Dominions of an *English* King from those of *England*, and separated the foreign Interests of an infatuated Monarch from those of his Subjects in this Island; and in Consequence of this, they virtuously and strenuously opposed the squandering *English* Treasure, in Protection of Dominions, in no Sense connected with the Welfare of this Kingdom.

THE Earls of *Hertford*, *Bobun*, and *Bigot*, began their Commotions through the Distaste which *Edward I.* gave them, by demanding their Service in the Quarrel of *Gascoigny*; and in denying to defend or recover foreign Provinces independent of *England*, though subject to the King, they had great Reason, since so many Consents of Parliament justify their Refusal.

IN the twentieth Year of the Reign of *Richard II.* the sixth and the ninth of *Henry IV.* the first and seventh of *Henry V.* it is affirmed, the Commons of *England* are not bound, *pour supporter les guerres en la terre de France ou Normandie*; that is, to support the King's Wars either in *France* or *Normandy*; publicly declaring this, and publicly refusing Assistance.

IN the Reign of King *John*, the Bishop of *Durham* was killed by the People, who determined to oppose a Tax for supporting the King's Wars in *France*: The King himself was detested also by the Citizens of *London* for his grievous Taxations on the same Account. Hence followed the Wars between him and his Barons.

IN the Reign of *Henry III.* there was another Contention between the Kings and Barons on the like Reason.

EDWARD I. was refused Money by his Subjects, to defend his Territories in *France* against the *French*.

EDWARD

EDWARD III. was also denied Contribution by his Subjects to carry on the Wars against the *French*; and one of the Articles of Treason against *Mortimer*, was the Offence he bred in the Commonwealth, by causing a Subsidy to be enacted from the Subjects on that Account.

THE Poll-Money imposed by Parliament in the Reign of *Ritbard II.* to defray the Expence of the Wars in *France*, was the Cause of bitter Imprecations against the King, which were followed by an Insurrection of the Commons: And in the Reign of this King, as well as in others of those who preceded and succeeded him, the Parliament was so tender in granting Subsidies, and raising Taxes for foreign Wars, that they added to the Act, *Quod non trabatur in Consequentiam*, that it should be no Precedent to Futurity for levying Taxes; at the same Time appointing peculiar Treasurers of their own, to give them Account upon Oath the next Parliament.

INNUMERABLE Instances of this Nature may be drawn from the History of our Ancestors, and evident Proof inferred, that the Commons of *England* considered this Attachment of their Sovereigns to their Dominions on the Continent, as the great Cause of their Miseries and Distress, and frequently refused to indulge their Kings in the Ambition and Folly of enlarging and protecting their Possessions, to the Ruin and Poverty of themselves and their Constituents.

So certainly true is it, that Poverty of *England* has ever been the Attendant of our engaging in War on the Continent, I believe it may be proved, that the People of this Nation have owed their Increase in Riches to the single Circumstance of being once detached from Continental Possessions.

TILL the Beginning of *Elizabeth's* Reign, whatever had been gained by the Natives of this Island in Commerce, had been again wasted in Defence of foreign Dominions; but from the Reign of this illustrious Woman, whose Memory must be for ever

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dear

dear to all *Englishmen*, for the Blessings she spread upon her People, to the last Day of that infatuated Bigot, *James II*, *England* only as a Nation has grown rich; all Increase of Wealth since that Time being Paper-Possessions, which like the Leaves of the Sibyl, scattered to and fro by m——l Winds, too plainly pronounce the impending Fate of this Kingdom.

FROM this fatal *Æra*, the m——l Destroyers of their Country recurred to the same Means, which had formerly been the Ruin and Waste of *English* Blood and Treasure; the unspeakable Disadvantage which this Nation had suffered, from their Sovereigns being possessed of Dominions in *France*, returned with double Fury: *Holland* and *Germany* were yoked to this Nation; the last, like an enormous Wen fixed to a beautiful Body, has grown luxuriant, by draining the vital Juices which should have been distributed through this Realm, and emaciated it's natural Strength, Beauty, and Vigour.

SINCE the Attachments of M——rs to the *Germanic* Interest, during the Wars of *William* and *Anne*, and in our Times, we have thrown Three hundred Millions of *English* Money into the Scale of that *Balance of Power* in *Germany*, which has never inclined, nor ever will preponderate on our Side, while we have a Shilling more to add to it. Such immense Sums of Money have been ineffectually wasted in sustaining this visionary Equilibrium of Power in *Europe*; Four-score Millions of which, we, free-born *Englishmen*, and our Posterity, are this Day mortgaged to pay for *German* Advantages.

THUS it is evidently demonstrable, that national Poverty has been the inseparable Companion of being again attached to Continental Interests; for, I believe, no Man will assert, that a Nation, which has not more Money in it at this Time, than at the Day of *James the Second's* Abdication, with a Debt of Four-score Millions added to it, can be as wealthy as it was at that Period. Is the Value of Four-score Millions, in
uncoined

uncoined Gold and Silver, and other Merchandise, to be found in this Kingdom, beyond what it possessed at that Time? As much then as this Nation is deficient in the Possession of that Sum, so much is it poorer than it was at that Period: I speak not of imaginary Paper-Wealth, got by the Iniquity of M——rs and their Favourites, to which nothing real answers but your Taxes and Calamities.

Thus then ancient and modern Observation demonstrate, that our Attachments to Territories, which, though belonging to our Kings, were independent of *England*, have ever been the Cause of Poverty and Distress; and our Welfare and Happiness prevailed only, when we were unconcerned in Continental Wars and Interests. Can it then be imagined, that what has ever been pernicious, will now change it's Nature, and become beneficial? Will not the same Ruin, the same Increase of Debts, and waste of national Treasure, be the fatal Consequence of all future Engagements to support foreign Dominions in *Europe*, as it has of all past? As all Acquisition of Territory in that Part of the World would be but Increase of Misfortunes, and every Conquest be attended with farther Ruin to this Isle.

Let me now lay before you some Estimate of what may be the annual Expence, if ever a Design of hiring that long list of mercenary Blood-Suckers, from *Germany* and other Parts, should take Place; in which, though the Calculation does not pretend to Exactness, it is yet, I believe, rather under than above the just Computation: When we consider the enormous Sum of Money which was levied the last Year of the last War, and the great Navy-Debt which was then left undischarged. Let us then examine, whether *England* can support that Expence.

THE Pay of the *Russian* Troops alone, according to the Proportion of former Subsidies, will be half a Million of Money; the remaining Troops of all *Germany* (exclusive of *Austrians* and *Piedmontese*) cannot

be estimated at less than double that Sum: Thus in Subsidy alone, One Million and a half will be annually expended. The Hire which must be paid the *Austrians* Money to put all these Troops in Motion, according to late Practice; supporting the whole Army, when ever they leave their own Countries to be assembled on the *Rhin* or in *Flanders*, will double that Sum at least, and increase it to three Millions. For Experience has shewn us, that whatever Bargain we may make with necessitous Princes, to support their own Troops in the Field, that notwithstanding this, it is the Gold of *England* which has ever supplied and furnished them with Subsistence during that Time; this, besides the Expence of our own Troops in *Flanders*, which cannot be estimated at less than a Million more yearly, will make the Sum of Four Millions of Money, which must annually pass the *English* Channel, like Ghosts over the *Stygian* Ferry, never more to revisit this Isle.

How *Clare* *England*, then, indebted Four score Millions, whose circulating Cash is not more than Fourteen, supports a War on the Continent of *Europe*, which had almost proved her Ruin, when she did not owe one Shilling? What Obligation can *German* Interests have on this Land, that she must exhaust her vital Powers to her own Ruin and their Advantage?

TO MAKE the most sanguine Friend to the present Ministry can scarce entertain a more flattering Idea in favour of this Nation, when he considers who presides in the various Branches of the Administration, than that if we engage in *Flanders*, our Success will be equal to that of the great Duke of *Marlborough*.

And yet even this Success, should we win every Battle, must lead us to inevitable Ruin. Can *England*, buried in Mountains of Debt, which, like *Pelion* upon *Ossa*, have been heaped upon her, sustain the Expence of a War upon the Continent of *Europe*? Do we grow more vigorous by being exhausted? or will national Parsimony answer all the immense Demands of such

such a War? Where then shall this unhappy Nation find Money for foreign Mercenaries? The most rapid Success must even prove your Ruin, and the Nation be exhausted of all Resource before these ten Years Conquests can be half completed. Thus the Sound of every Victory must be received with aching Hearts, and our Generals in their triumphal Carrs be followed by People drowned in Floods of Sorrow for the Battles they have won.

In the mean time, whilst you are sluicing forth your vital Treasure to protect Germanic Princes, how different is their Fate? they grow great by your Folly and Destruction; the Wealth which you lavish they receive by the Hire of their Armies, mercenary in their own Defence. These are the Friends and Allies of *England*! Thus Conquest, any more than Defeat, cannot avert your Ruin, tho' the first may retard it a little while.

SHALL then this Kingdom be totally drained by grievous Subsidies, in support of foreign Princes Dominions, among whom there is One, whose untold Sums lie useless and untouched, even for the Protection of that State which is so dear to him.

BUT as painting the distressful Side of Nature, and our Situation, may be too displeasing to your Eyes, let us now point out to you the Way by which our Enemies must be humbled, and this Nation exalted.

WE have already proved that the *English* Fleet consists of treble the Number of that of *France*; that *Englishmen* want nothing but being trusted with Arms, and instructed in the Use of them, to defend themselves from all Invasion; and that the *German* Princes, undivided by the Hopes of our Money, and enlarging their Territories by our interfering, would unite in one common Cause against one common Enemy.

THESE being the true Circumstances of Things, our Fleet so superior, must drive the *French* Commerce from the Face of the Ocean, and enrich this Island,

land, when Specie might again appear instead of Paper.

OUR Troops and Militia, confined to the Defence of this Kingdom, whatever Expence they might prove, would prevent the Money from escaping to our Ruin, and still be circulating amongst us.

THE *Germans*, being ever *Germans*, and not bought by our Treasure, would tread the direct Road to their own Security and Preservation.

THUS then nothing but m——l Wrongheadedness can prevent this Nation from growing great in Case of a War with *France*. This Kingdom, by the Acquisition of Wealth taken from that, will then be a Reservoir for our Supplies; which very Treasure, if a War be begun in *Flanders*, will be no more than Waters running into the Head of a Pool, which immediately run out at the lower End, the Money we and the mercenary Army must spend in that Country, travelling very soon from the Hands of us to those of the *Netherland* Inhabitants, and thence speedily into *France*, as it happened too apparently last War.

THUS our Enemies get great Part of that Money which we squander to oppose them.

THEREFORE to make *England* truly great, this Isle, as she is by Nature, must stand unconnected with the Interests and Territories of *German* Princes and the Continent.

BUT there is yet a farther Consideration for our declining to engage in *German* Welfare, it is the Defence of his Majesty and his Subjects Possessions in *America*, the living Fountain of perpetual Wealth to this Kingdom, an Object worth all your Consideration; whatever is expended in the Defence of *English* Plantations, returns to *England* again.

SHALL we then raise Money to lavish on *German* Mercenaries for *German* Interests, and neglect our own Colonies? Shall that bastard and unnatural State, whose whole Revenue does not exceed the fourth Part
of

of what you annually pay the Poor of this Nation, which has already cost so many Millions, continue to exhaust all your Wealth in her Defence and Service, and the legal Child of *England* be neglected and abandoned in her Distress? Shall a hundred and sixty thousand Mercenaries wage War on the Banks of the *Rhine*, and in the Meadows of *Flanders* at your Expence, to defend what is not in it's whole Value worth the Treasure which will be consumed in four Campaigns for its Protection?

Thus then these Things being clearly placed before your Eyes, does it not follow that Ruin must await you, if these mercenary Troops are hired in defence of you or *German* Interests? And may it not as justly be said when that Time arrives, as in those of *Tacitus*, *Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie poscit*; the *Britons* are every Day imploring to be Slaves, and adding Money to purchase that Infamy?

If hereafter some future Son of Ambition shall make the obtaining Subsidies for *German* Interests, the very Condition of his being a M——r, will you tamely bow your Necks to that Yoke; if some future P——t shall grant the Revenues of *England* for such Purposes, is there an *Englishman* who can look silently on and see his Constitution totally expiring, unremonstrating, and uncomplaining?

If ye should prove so fallen from the Spirit of your Ancestors, how despicable must you be regarded by the Eyes of all *Europe*? Shall *France* behold the proud insulting mercenary *German*, the hireling Defender of this Isle, stalking indignant and oppressive thro' your Lands and Cities, yourselves untrusting with Arms, doomed, like the Slaves of *Sparta*, to work for these foreign Soldiers?

If you shall ever become so despicable in the Opinion of m——l Men, your Souls deemed unequal to the Task of combating for your own Safety, what are ye then but heartless Cowards, a Race of soft, effeminate

effeminate Dastards? Oh ignominious Thought! Oh
 abject *England*!

WILL you then be considered but as People unfit
 for War, to plow and labour, to hew Wood and
 draw Water, for those whose Souls are yet daring e-
 nough to meet an Enemy on the Field of Battle?

WHERE will then be fled that martial Spirit which
 animated the Souls of your great Ancestors at *Cressy*,
Poitiers, and *Agincourt*? Is that *English* Valour
 which knew no Defeat beneath the Command of
Marlborough, totally annihilated?

WILL ye then permit in silence these Foreigners to
 be bought to your Assistance? Will ye servilely sur-
 render yourselves and Liberties into their Hands for
 Protection? Will ye be the Slaves of *German* Mer-
 cenaries?

YE silken Sons of Pleasure, rouse from your Le-
 thargy; modestly represent to your Sovereign the
 Dangers of your Condition: urge your Representa-
 tives to procure you Arms, which become your
 Hands alone, for the protecting Him and your Coun-
 try from Invasion. Let your Navies prove that *France*
 can be humbled without mercenary Assistance. Or
 will ye permit the white Horse to trample down the
 Sons of *England* in Dust, Disgrace, and Ruin? Shall
 the *British* Lion be yoked to draw that Carr from which
 he is unharnessed, to wanton in the fattest Pastures?

IF even Yourselves and Liberties should be no
 longer dear to you, will you behold your Progeny en-
 slaved? Your Properties wasted in foreign Wars and
German Interests? Will ye not then exert your native
 Powers, and shake off that lazy Inattention which is
 stolen upon you?

BE attentive, or irremediable Evils may steal im-
 perceptibly upon you, like Death in old Age, when
 there no longer remains Vigour to combat the Attack;
 when exhausted, and driven by mercenary Bands, con-
 verted from being your Defenders to your Enslavers,
 you

you are excluded from the free Expatiating of Liberty, and your Constitution driven into a narrow Compass, as the *Britons* of old; and, treading on each other, like wild Beasts in the *Eastern Nations*, surrounded with Toils, you tear each other to Pieces with Rage; or die tamely and supinely, expiring by the Darts, which are thrown by mercenary and m——l Huntsmen.

NOR is it for you alone, my Countrymen, my Breast feels the anxious Alarm; the Welfare of that illustrious House, which fills the Throne with so much Glory, thrills me with Apprehension for their Safety. What Behaviour can more probably wean the Hearts of Subjects from a Sovereign, than their being treated so ignominiously by his M——s? What Motive so apt to irritate their Minds, as beholding their Treasures exhausted to their Ruin, themselves considered as Cowards, unworthy to bear Arms in their own Defence, and contemptuously postponed to *German Mercenaries* by M—— Counsellors?

HISTORY too fatally informs us, that the *English* have been frequently driven to dangerous Extremes by Causes of less Moment: Let me therefore implore you, if it should ever be the abject Fate of *England* to become the Slave of *Germany*, urge not your Resentment beyond remonstrating, to your Representatives and Sovereign, your despicable Situation; withhold your Hands from vindicating your own Rights; point your legal Designs alone against that M——r, who, betraying the Trust which is committed to him by his Master, may attempt to enslave you to foreign Hirelings, exhaust your Treasure by defending *German* Interests, and risk even the Stability of that Crown, which it is his Duty to sustain.

WILL ye, degenerate Men, behold *Britannia*, like *Prometheus* chained to a Rock, whilst the *German Eagle* is devouring her Vitals, and yield her no Assistance? Believe me, the Moment of that Catastrophe

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may

may not be at a great distance: When I arrive I
shall not fail to give you warning of the Evil: This
Message shall either prove the Fall of you
expiring Liberties and Nation's Glory, which, like
Women, ye may follow to their Graves with Sighs
and Tears ultimately; or, like the Sound of the last
Trumpet, awaken to a Resurrection the long-de-
parted Spirit of defending yourselves, your King, and
Country.

*Virtu contra 'I fudori;
Prædica P' armis & sic ille combatit corio,
Ede P' antio' daltre
Nell Inglese chor non e ancor morto.*

F I N I S.



A THIRD LETTER

TO THE

People of *England*,

ON

LIBERTY, TAXES,

And the APPLICATION of

PUBLIC MONEY.

*Torpere ultra, & periculum reipublicam relinquere Sopor & Ignavia
videtur. TACIT.*



THE SIXTH EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed in the YEAR, 1756.

A THIRD

LETTER

TO THE

People of America

BY

ROBERT T. TAYLOR

AND

PUBLIC MONEY

By the Hon. Robert T. Taylor, Secretary of the Treasury, in a letter to the Hon. John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, dated January 18, 1847.

THE NEW YORK OFFICE

LONDON

Printed in the Year 1847

LETTER

TO THE

People of England.

LETTER III.

WITHOUT entering into a long Disquisition concerning the Requisites which are necessary to constitute the Idea of Liberty in every State, or ascertaining what kind of Government is, in the Nature of it's Confirmation, the best adapted for sustaining it when once established; may it not with Truth be said, that whenever Inequity in Laws, and Inequality in distributive Justice are found amongst a People, that then the Exertion and Enjoyment of true Freedom do not perfectly exist in that State.

THAT Liberty necessarily belongs to no one Form of Government, may be fairly inferred from the Opinions and Practice of all Antiquity, and in particular from the Sentiments and Behaviour of the two most illustrious Nations of the World, the *Athenians* and *Romans*.

DURING the Reign of *Thesius* their great legislative King, and in many others which succeeded him, and under the *Arden*, the *Athenians* considered themselves a Free People, because they were governed by equitable Statutes. Even *Pisistratus*, who fraudulently usurped an absolute Power over his Fellow-Countrymen, was less opposed by the People than by his Competitors for Dominion, and died at last upon the Throne of *Athen*.

THE Reason of this seems evident: he ruled according to the Laws of Equity and *Solon*. Had his Successors accompanied their Reigns with equal Judgment, and the same just Disposition, the *Grecians* had not complained of violated Freedom, and expelled them from their City.

BREACH of Justice, and Contempt of Laws, proved their Bane and Demolition; and not their being Monarchs.

THE next Innovation in the *Athenian* State, was the Aristocratic Government, consisting of Four Hundred Men; these, under the Pretext of appealing to their Constituents, observing the Laws, and preserving the Constitution of the State, perverted the Intention of the first; and subverted the Foundations of the latter; till, becoming obnoxious to a People ever jealous of their Liberty and sensible of Injury, they were banished by the Recall of *Alcibiades*, and the Valour of their enraged Countrymen. After this, Liberty, and the old Form of Government, returned to *Athen*.

No long Space intervyned till ambitious Views and popular Commotions created new Disturbances in the State. At this time the *Athenians*, to re-instate the confused Condition of their Affairs, chose from amongst their Fellow-Citizens thirty Men, to collect and compile a Body of Laws, the most promising and probable to re-establish the broken Police of the City, correct the Dissolution of Manners in the Citizens, restore it to it's ancient Glory, and to be the standing Rules of future Government.

To this Oligarchy the sole Direction of the State, and supreme Authority was entrusted. These, in the Beginning, proceeding with great Appearance of Justice, and forming salutary Laws, were cheerfully obeyed by the People; till the Lust of Power devouring the Love of Equality, they instituted Statutes oppressive of their Fellow-Citizens, and held in Contempt those which they had already passed: when being let loose

loose to all the Outrage of despotic Insolence, perpetrating the most atrocious and tyrannic Insults on Liberty and the Constitution, instigated thereto by a Subsidiary Army of *Lacedaemonians*, they became the Detestation of every unpurchased *Athenian*.

At this Time the Virtue of *Thrasylbulus*, and Seventy more only, who disdained to be *Athenians* and be Slaves, rescued their native Land from the opprobrious Chains of Oligarchic Tyranny: The Tyrants were ignominiously expelled the City, driven to that Land from whence they had hired the enslaving Mercenaries, and their Laws publicly abolished. In this manner Liberty and Justice returned once more to *Athens*.

Hence let it be remembered what Success attends the Virtue of a Few fired with their Country's Cause; and what Fatality awaits those who attempt despotic Sway, and the Ruin of their native Land by Foreign Hirelings.

In this State of Freedom the *Athenians* persevered for some time, till growing insolent by Wealth they despised the Religion, severe Virtue, and wholesome Laws of their Ancestors; when drowned in Luxury, Effeminacy, and Sports, neglecting all Military Attention, consuming the public Revenue in Wantonness and Profusion, thronging to Theatres, and inattentive to their Country's Welfare; excluding the Wise from all public Councils, and indulging Minions, Buffoons, and Parasites, at the Tables of the Great, they fell at length the easy Prey of *Philip*, King of *Macedon*.

In like manner, amongst the *Romans*, under the various Changes of that Empire, the Revolutions which prevailed in it, seem rather to have arisen from the pernicious Excess of acting contrary to the nature of Liberty, than from Disinclination to any one Form of Government. The Kings, in the Infancy of *Rome*, were willingly obeyed by the People, and the regal Power would probably have continued, if they had

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not dared to violate the laws of that Constitution which they were chosen to protect.

THE Consular and Patrician Power was never opposed, 'till it became oppressive and injurious to the Plebeians; 'till the Senators, designed the Protectors of Liberty, became the Oppressors of the People; hence sprang the *Decemviri*, to curb the Aristocratic Power, and institute stable Laws for the Distribution of Justice, and Preservation of Liberty. Yet, alas! such is the Nature of Man, these, grown arrogant by Power, illegally prolonged the Time for which they had been chosen for the forming good Laws; violating the first Principles of Justice, and the very Intent for which they had been elected. At length the Just Resentment of an injured Nation fell upon them; they were ignominiously deposed, and the ancient Form of Government, and Freedom restored together.

HENCE does it not manifestly appear from the History and Transactions of those People, who entertained the justest Sentiments on that Subject, that Liberty belongs not necessarily either to Monarchy, Aristocracy, Oligarchy, Democracy, or to a Composition of these; that it is not absolutely united to elective, more than to hereditary Powers; or consists in being governed by Laws; but in being obliged to obey no Power which is arbitrary; and being ruled by no Laws, which are not equally distributive of Justice and Equity; alike preservative of Great and Small, the Ruler's Prerogatives, and People's Liberties.

WHAT I mean by *Liberty*, is not that dissolute Licentiousness, which is constantly mistaken for, and asserted by the Profligate to be that celestial Attribute, alike the impious Companion of Tyranny and Anarchy; but such as it is defined by the celebrated Author of *De l'Esprit des Loix*; consisting in a People's possessing a Power of doing all that they ought to choose, and in not being constrained to do that which they ought not to choose.

If then this Definition, and what has been already said, bear the sacred Seal of Truth, does it not follow, that

[71]
that whenever a People are prohibited to bear Arms in Defence of themselves, their Liberties and Properties; that whenever a Nation is doomed to labour for Those who have no legal Claim of Merit on it's Inhabitants, who are destructive to the public Good, or for the Advantage of foreign Potentates, independent of their own: That in whatever Country these Conditions have obtained, they must be incompatible with the Interest of a free People, and totally repugnant to the Definition of Liberty, and that Idea of it acknowledged by Ancients and Moderns?

NOTWITHSTANDING these *Queries* are almost self-evident Truths, permit me to examine without Heat, and explain without Acrimony, whence it is derived that Liberty and the above Conditions are absolutely contradictory and found impossible to subsist together.

In attempting this, I shall now trace your Right to Liberty from *Magna Charta*, and the distant Practice of your Ancestors; it will be sufficient for me to say, That the same Legislative Act which establishes the present illustrious Family on the Throne, confirms you in your Liberties; that Law, which gives your Sovereign his Crown and Prerogatives, assigns and fixes your Rights and Privileges. The Power of making Peace and War is not more inherent in the King, than the being governed by just Laws belongs to the Subject.

SHOULD any Men audaciously attempt to infringe the Royal Authority, and make the crowned Head dependent on the People's Will, ought they not to be deemed as Rebels to their Sovereign? In like manner, are not all those who by any means would deprive their Fellow-Subjects of their Rights by Law established, Traitors to them, their Constitution, and all that is committed to their Charge?

Is Liberty then be the undisputed Inheritance, and peculiar Blessing of an *Englishman*, has he not a just Claim to the Right of defending it? Or, with what Shadow of Truth can he be imagined to be free?

BUT

BUT lest the Word *Liberty*, conveying no Idea of an Object to the Senses, may create some Puzzle in comprehending what may be here said, let me place the Word *Money* in it's stead; the Reality of which, and the Idea adequate to the Term, being thoroughly understood by all. Let us then imagine a Law to have been enacted, by which every Man in *England*, who does not possess an hundred Pounds a Year in Land, is prohibited from resisting all who have the Inclination to deprive him of his Money. What kind of Security would he conceive he had for possessing this Property? Would not he conclude, that his Tenure, depending on the Good-will and Honesty of all who surrounded him, open to the Inroad of Invaders, was little worth, and extremely precarious?

THUS circumstanced, would he not find himself in a worse Condition in Society than without; being prevented from defending his Property by this Law of Compact; whereas it is permitted by that of Nature? And thus would not the very Essence of Society be annihilated, because a Law of such a Kind is destructive of the very Ends for which Societies were originally instituted, mutual Preservation, and Defence of Property? Is not such a Law a more slavish Injunction than the arbitrary Will of a Prince, because under the Semblance of being enacted by your Representatives? Is it not considered as your own Deed, and do you not therefore become the Assassins of your own Freedom?

PLACE *Liberty* for *Money*, and the Arguments are equally coercive. If then Ease of Mind be amongst the distinguishing Characteristics of Freedom, in what a deplorable Situation must every Man be, who beholds this celestial Donation every Minute ready to be snatched from his Possession, deprived of Arms to rescue that Blessing from the Hands of the Ravisher?

WHEREFORE under whatever Disguise Military Weapons may be withheld from your Hands, tho' it should be under that important and natural Consideration

deration of preserving *Hares* and *Partridges*; since you will thereby be denied the Power of defending your Liberties from the Invasion of all who may attack them; can ye any longer be deemed a free People?

To assert a Nation is in secure Possession of what it is forbidden to protect, is a Contradiction in Terms: And to say it is free, divested of all Power of defending it's Freedom, is that absurd Contradiction.

LIBERTY, by the Constitution of the Realm, is the Birthright of every *Englishman*, and ought to be defended by all. It is not a Privilege granted to the Peer, and denied the Commoner; it is not conceded to the Merchant, who deals in Thousands, and withheld from him who labours at the Loom or Plough.

YOUR Representatives have never been authorized to dispose of it, being chosen as it's Protectors, and not as Traffickers in that precious Merchandize; to guard, and not to betray, the important Charge of preserving your Constitution. Every Law therefore, which can deprive you of defending that celestial Right, is it not an Infringement of your just Privilege, and a Violation of the Constitution?

LET me add also, that Inhibition of bearing Arms in defending of Person, Liberty, and Country, has been ever deemed, through all Nations of the World, the most flagitious Characteristic of abject Slavery. Under no Form of the *Athenian* or *Roman* Governments were the People denied the Use of military Weapons, and Fighting for their native Soil.

INDEED the *Elote*, the unarmed Slaves of *Lacedaemon*, held in Contempt and Ignominy through all *Greece*, tilled the Lands, and reaped the Harvests for their atrocious Masters; in like manner, divested of all Power of Defence, the sooty *African* toils for his insulting Lord beneath the sultry Suns of *Jamaica*. In this Way, naked and defenceless, do ye not labour in

this Isle, with this imbittering Circumstance, that being born *Englishmen*, ye have the same Claim to *Liberty* with Those who may forge your Chains and rivet your Bondage: A Circumstance never known in *Greece* or *Rome*, in which the Slaves were Aliens to the Land.

THAT your Ancestors, and many now alive, entertained the same liberal Sentiments, may be certainly gathered from that very *Act* which placed the *English* Diadem on the Head of *William III.* in which one great Complaint against *James II.* and one just Cause of his being dethroned, was, that he caused several good Subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same Time that Papists were indulged with Arms contrary to Law. What Act of Rebellion have ye since committed against your Sovereigns, that ye are thus stript of all military Power of defending yourselves?

If disarming a few Protestants was at that Time a just Cause of Complaint, and no small Motive to dethrone a King, is it a less reasonable Cause of complaining against a M——r at this Hour, when the whole Nation is disarmed? Are Papist and Protestant become equally dreaded, and stript of all Defence, alike injuriously suspected? Are the Sons of those who opposed, and those who placed *William* on the Throne of *England*, thus held indignantly like Slaves?

If Papists were a just Cause of Terror in the Reign of *James*, will the *Russian* Savages and *German* Blood-suckers, under the Name of *mercenary* Auxiliaries, afford less Reason for your Fears? If the pretended Exigency of Affairs, through M——l Neglect, or Design, should require their Assistance in this Isle, will Those who freeze beneath the biting Frost of a *Russian* Winter, denied almost the Necessaries of Life, divested of it's Comforts, cherished by Treaty with Hopes of being Freebooters, and endless Plunder; will

will they return at your Command, after having tasted the Sweets of *England*? Will the *Hessian*, whose Being is the Price of Thirty Crowns, who sees himself sold by his inhuman Master, like the Ox to the highest Bidder; will he return to him who traffics his Subjects Lives for *English* Gold, and quit this Land, where they may be Masters?

If they should disobey your Orders, defenceless and disarmed as ye are, by what Method will ye compel them to obey you?

ARE then these foreign Troops of mercenary Hirelings less to be dreaded in *George's* Reign, than *English* Catholics were in that of *James*? Are ye less treated like Bondsmen, in being deprived of the Use of Arms now, than at that Time? Are ye less open to Attack and Ruin from avowed Enemies and pretended Friends?

Is not then the Law which renders ye defenceless, and snatches all Power of preserving Liberty from your Hands, a more alarming Approach to Arbitrary Power than *James's* presuming to effect it by his own Authority? The one, a Burden fixed upon your Shoulders which ye cannot escape, a Load which you must carry; the other, though placed on the Back of *Englishmen* for a while, thrown to the Ground and rejected: Shall the first prevail unremonstrated against because disguised as legal, allowed and acquiesced in, and the other disavowed, deemed despotic and resisted because illegal; is it not a Breach of that Act which placed the Crown upon *William's* Head?

SURELY no Man has Hardiness enough to assert, that if the Minister in the Reign of *James II.* had possessed by Place and Pension an absolute Power over the House of Commons, and commanded them to pass a Law for disarming the People, that such an Act would have been less an Infringement of *English* Liberty, than if it had been executed by means of the

King's Mandate only ; all Ways of bringing about wrong Measures being alike unconstitutional and arbitrary, it is the despicable State to which ye are reduced, and not the Means by which it is effected, that makes your being disarmed a Violation of that Liberty and that Constitution, which neither *British* Kings nor *British* Laws have a Right to diminish or destroy.

HAS then that humiliating Condition, which was so justly deemed Slavery in his Reign, and so gloriously shaken off by your Fathers, changed it's Nature and lost it's Sting in this ? Or has Time erased all Sense of Injury from your Souls, that being prohibited the Use of Arms, ye supinely behold the abject Situation to which ye are reduced, regardless, unremonstrating, and uncomplaining of your Fate ? Shall M—rs acquire that Despotism, which Kings have never yet been able to obtain ? Wipe then all Record of Liberty from your Minds, if any Trace unhappily remains upon them ; lest the Remembrance of your lost Condition should damp the future Hours of your Lives with one eternal Sadness. Look not on your defenceless Hands, nor sighing think what *England* was. Learn from *Albenians*, *Romans*, *Britons*, that not *Men* alone, but *Laws* may be equally tyrannic and oppressive ; then, by remonstrating legally to your Prince and Representatives, emerge from that abject State. Emulate your Fathers Glory ; like Them, be Virtuous, be Immortal, and be Free.

HAVING said thus much to prove to you, that no Nation denied the Power of defending their Liberties and Properties from foreign and domestick Enemies, can justly be denominated Free ; permit me to shew you, how those Hands which have been denied the Use of Arms for their own Protection, have been employed for the Advantage of others : That the whole Produce of your Labour, the Improvement of your Lands, your Increase of Manufactures, and your

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Gains by Merchandize, have been long doomed to the Support of foreign Nations, ruinous to *English* Liberty and the publick Good.

IN order to lay this Truth more evidently before your Eyes, it seems necessary to return to the End of the Reign of *James* the Second, to shew you the State the Nation was then in, and compare it with what at present exists in this Island.

THAT Prince then, from a Passion of being despotic, and mole-eyed Zeal of propagating the *Roman* Catholick Religion, abused the regal Authority, and extended his Prerogative illegally over the People. He disarmed Protestants; kept a Standing Army in Times of Peace; attempted to subvert the established Religion, by tolerating Catholicks and Sectaries; violated the Freedom of Elections of Members to serve in Parliament; and committed many other gross Enormities, mentioned in that Act of Parliament which placed the Crown on King *William's* Head: All these being then deemed destructive of Liberty and your Constitution, and avowed as justifiable Reasons for deposing a King, are still maintained to be such, by every *Englishman*; they must ever remain the same, in the Opinion of all honest Men; and be an everlasting Justification of all who attempt to oppose the Return of such absolute Proceedings, whether in the Monarch or his Minister.

ACCORDINGLY in obedience to such true Sentiments of Liberty and our Constitution, Popery and arbitrary Power were supposed to be expelled together. Since which Time the two last have been considered as constant Companions, ever united in the Mouths of the Whigs: Let me examine, whether the Experience of succeeding Years has not proved that they have been divided, and that when Popery was driven into Banishment, arbitrary Power did not change Mask and Domino, and remain in that new Disguise amongst the Crowd.

AND

AND here it is impossible to avoid observing to you, that though before this Date it had been declared "a King of *England* could do no Wrong," yet that this Maxim could not then have been universally received, because in dethroning *James II.* and in not confining their Punishments to the Ministers alone, the Leaders must have been deemed as Rebels by all Men of Virtue, which Behaviour having never been considered in that View, it appears impossible that the above Maxim could have been universally acknowledged.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, whatever might have been the Speculation and Practice of *Englishmen* at that Time, it certainly ought to be received as an inviolable and sacred Tenet at present, "that the King can do no Wrong: And I am under no Apprehension of it's being disproved, when I affirm, that since that Day no crowned Head has ever committed a wrong Action.

HOWEVER, though Kings, as Vicegerents of Heaven, replete with celestial Attributes, are acknowledged to be incapable of doing Wrong, yet are they not totally exempt from human Weaknesses: Nor has it ever been asserted that Ministers, who generally receive their Qualifications from a very different Origin, cannot injure their Fellow-Subjects, or destroy their Country. Can it ever therefore be Criminal for an *Englishman* to delineate to his Countrymen in what manner human Frailty in a crowned Head, and Iniquity in Ministers, may have coincided to advance a Nation's Ruin?

JAMES being deposed, and the Prince of *Orange* placed on the Throne, that Prince, though considered as Immortal, was yet not unallayed with human Frailties; amongst which, his Preference and Predilection of the United Provinces, proved not a little prejudicial to this Land, and this People, who presented him with the precious and superb Donation of three Kingdoms, to which he had no Claim, and to the obtaining which no Man ever achieved less.

THIS

THIS Foible too eminently distinguished itself in postponing the Good of these Nations to that of *Holland*; and tho' a Theme for much Praise in the Songs of *Dutch* Poets, yet ought it to be held in everlasting Remembrance with Pain by all *Englishmen*.

FROM the Time of this Prince's mounting the Throne, the Interest of *England* began to sink in the Bogs of *Holland*, and the High and Mighty States reigned in the Breast of this King in Possession, as Popery did in Him that was exiled from the Throne.

UNHAPPY for this Nation, the King of *England* was likewise Stadtholder of the United Provinces: And though a Prince of the Continent may be allowed Plurality of Dominions, yet past Experience has proved, that the Interest of this Island will no more permit the Sovereigns of it to possess Plurality of Realms, than the Christian Religion Plurality of Wives. It cannot suffer this Kingdom to be wedded for her Wealth, subservient to another more favourite Wife, taken for Love alone. As she is separated from the World, she ought to be disunited from all others in the Breast of her Possessor. It is not therefore impossible for one Part of a King's Dominions to be uttering eternal Eulogies, in Commemoration of him, whom the other has little Reason to esteem. It must be remembered also, that tho' the King of *England* and Stadtholder were united in one Person, that the Interest and Titles of *England* and the United Provinces remained as distinct and separate as if held by two different Princes; and no Union of these in one Man, can change the Nature and Advantages which each Dominion naturally possesses.

WHATEVER Country then may be held by the King of *England* under another Title, is to be considered as unconnected with this Isle, farther than as
that

that Dominion and this may mutually aid and support each other ; and this notwithstanding any superior Love which the Sovereign may manifest towards it. An *E——b* *M——r* therefore, who may indulge his Master, and, for the sake of preserving his own Power, dupe his native Land to this Propensity, is an Enemy, if not a Rebel, to his Country.

SHOULD *France* and *England*, which Heaven avert, be ever ruled by the same Sovereign, would not the *M——r* who pillaged this Land to please his King, and enrich the *French*, deserve the severest Punishment ?

IN like Manner, every other Realm held by a King of this Island, the Interest of which is distinct, if not contradictory to yours, should be considered by you in the very same Light as *France*, and beheld with the same Aversion by every *Englishman* who is resolved to be free. Have ye not just Right to complain, whenever the Labour of your Hands, the Profits of your Trade, and the Blood of your Fellow-Subjects, shall be wantonly lavished in Defence of Foreign Interests, to fatten the sterile Soil, and fill the empty Purses of more favourite Subjects ?—— Will not every *M——r* who fosters such Inclinations, and drains his Country's Treasures to supply them, merit the most ignominious Punishment ?

It must be remarked also, that at this glorious Period of the Revolution, which so happily established (according to the Whig Phrase) our Liberties and Privileges, Things took a different Turn from what is generally conceived ; the Supreme Power, in Fact, fell from the crowned Head on that of the Minister. From this Instant the latter began to be absolute, and his Sovereignty has been increasing since that Time.

THE Whigs in Power, from the Principle inseparable from a Whig, now resolved to make themselves arbitrary. They had found by Experience, that an Attempt to reign without a King was impracticable in *England*; they therefore commenced the successful Scheme of reigning with one; and this Change of Princes afforded too favourable an Opportunity for executing their despotic Designs.

THEY saw that the King must of Necessity fall entirely into their Possession. They knew also that his Opponents being very numerous, he dared not to desert that Party which had crowned him. They perceived also, that being an Alien to the Land, the Love of *Dutch* Welfare had absorbed the Good of *England* in the new Sovereign's Heart; and he, in his Turn, had discovered, that the Desire of Power, and not Freedom, had chiefly actuated in the Breasts of those who had given him the Throne: In mutual Acquiescence therefore with each other's Interests, the King declined struggling for Power in *England*, to obtain Money for the Service and Advantage of *Holland*; and to sate his Love of Slaughter, and Enmity to *Lewis XIV.* And the Minister indulged him with the Objects of these Desires, in order to govern more quietly and despotic. Thus this Country was sacrificed to *Holland*, to please the favourite Inclinations of a King, and to support a pernicious Ministry.

At the same Time the Ministers, to bind the monied Men to their Devotion, and secure them in their Power, began the destructive Schemes of *National Debts*, and mortgaging *Englishmen*; by which all those thus indulged in their Designs of accumulating Wealth were gained to the Party: And all this was transacted under a Mask, written all over in red Letters with LIBERTY, PROPERTY, and the PROTESTANT RELIGION; No POPERY! No SLAVERY!

THE People, caught like Larks by the dazzle of these Words, and with seeing a King seemingly kept

under by his Ministers and Parliament, imagined that the Temple of Liberty was now fixing on a Rock, which no Winds or Tempests could remove; never entertaining the least Idea, that the very Part of the Constitution which was pruning the Regal Power, was inoculating their own; and that by their future Culture, this Sprig of Ministerial Power might grow to overshadow the Regal Prerogative and People's Liberties; and that a Minister might hereafter be an absolute Potentate.

YET, though Ministers are absolute, they are not immortal. Like the despotic Sultans they frequently give Way to their Successors, through Tumult and Opposition; and Kings, like Janizaries, may change their Lords, and yet live under an absolute Dominion. For this Reason, as there are at all times many vigorous Sons urging up the steep Ascent of Power, the Minister in Possession, in order to preserve his Seat, has constantly indulged the crowned Head with Money to promote *Dutch* and *Germanic* Interests; and thus the Sovereign being content, the Minister has been secure, and the Nation going on to Ruin.

By Proceedings of this Nature, since the placing the Crown on the Head of *William* the Third, a new Way of becoming arbitrary has been pursued by M——rs. It seems, they had been convinced by the Death and Exile of Princes, that P——ts would not silently bear the exorbitant Attempts of Regal Prerogative, and from thence were apprehensive, they were no more inclined tamely to submit to the arbitrary Disposition of M——rs; they therefore began to divide amongst the Members Part of that Money which they levied on the Constituents; and thus, under the Appearance of proceeding legally, kept the People quiet, and stifled the Clamour of their Representatives by venal Influence. — By this Way Laws were made, which inflicted greater Grievances, and imposed heavier Taxes on you, than had

had ever been attempted by extended Prerogative and arbitrary Inclinations.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, it appears to me, that as those Articles in the *Act of Settlement* were then judged necessary to ascertain your Liberties; they cannot be infringed or abrogated without injuring your Rights and the Constitution, and bringing back in Effect, though not in the same Place, that arbitrary Power so justly complained of in *James's* Reign.

HAVING said thus much, let me now present you with the State of your Taxes, as they stood at the Abdication of King *James*; and then shew you by what Means they have so enormously increased, from that Hour to the present.

AT *James's* leaving the Crown, the annual Revenue of this Kingdom, at the highest Computation, was Two Millions Sixty-one Thousand Eight Hundred fifty-six Pounds. This Income then supported a formidable Navy equipped for the Seas, and an Army of Thirty-Thousand Land Forces. It supplied the Civil List, and impowered the King to save Money yearly: For, according to Accompts given into Parliament, the annual Expence amounted at a Medium to no more than One Million Six Hundred ninety-nine Thousand Three Hundred sixty-three Pounds. By this it appears, that Three Hundred sixty-two Thousand Four Hundred ninety-three Pounds of the public Revenue were annually saved: At this Time also the Kingdom was not a Shilling in Debt.

THIS then was the supposed Situation of your Affairs at that distinguished Era. A Kingdom without a Head; a Nation out of Debt; an annual Revenue of Two Millions; Popery and Slavery banished; the Whigs in full Possession, unincumbered, and entire Masters!

LET me now inquire, how like Patriots those who stript the Crown from the Father's Head, and placed it on the Son and Daughter's, have acquitted themselves in the Service of their Country.

DURING the Reign of King *William*, his Love of *Holland*, and Lust of War cherished by the Ministry desiring to be absolute, levied upon this People upwards of Fifty Millions in thirteen Years. More than double the Amount of former Taxes, for an equal Number of Years preceding; besides which, you and your Posterity were mortgaged for a Debt of Ten Millions. 'This Blessing the Deliverer of this Land bequeathed you at his Death; doubly Immortal, in expelling Popery, and mortgaging *England*.

AFTER his Decease, the Balance of Power, the Liberty of *Germany*, *Popery*, *Slavery*, and the *Protestant* Interest, Terms which Time has shewn never to have had any reasonable Ideas annexed to them, together with the Ambition and Avarice of the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Marlborough*, engaged you in a War on the Continent, in support of the most Popish and most Arbitrary Prince of all the *Germanic* States, the House of *Austria*.

DURING this War, your Taxes, your Ruin, and your Conquests, went Hand in Hand, magnificently increasing. For at the End of Ten Years Victory and Queen *Anne's* Reign, there had been levied on this People more than Seventy-five Millions; which being almost Six Millions a Year, is annually three Times as much as was raised during the Reign of *James*. To say nothing of the extravagant Increase of the National Debt to Fifty-three Millions. Thus, in two Reigns of Twenty-six Years, this insatuated Nation was pillaged of One Hundred twenty-three Millions to support *Dutch* and *German* Interests, and destroy their own.

To this Princess succeeded *George the First*, whose Inclination to govern according to the Constitution has been generally allowed and believed, and I imagine with Justice, though by no Means divested of Predilection for his native Land.

HAD his Minister possessed the simple Qualification of Integrity during this Reign, *England* might have been

been lightened from her Load of Debts, and emerged with all her former Effulgence from behind her Cloud of Grievances: For it is as demonstrable as Figures can make it, that during this Reign, if *English* Welfare had been the ministerial Object, your Debts might have been reduced to Twelve Millions, which at Three *per Cent.* would have been but Three Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds *per Ann.* a Subsidy at present scarce deemed worthy the Acceptation of a *German Prince*, whose Revenue does not amount to half that Sum.

In Consequence of such Design pursued with Equity, in the Year 1740 we should have had a free Revenue of Five Millions from the Sinking Fund, Malt Tax, and Land Tax at Four Shillings in the Pound. During this Reign of Peace the whole Revenue amounted to more than Thirty Eight Millions, and the National Debt remained much as it was at the Queen's Death.

How then can the Memory of a M——r be sufficiently detested, who thus neglecting the Salvation of his native Land, saw it expiring beneath the Burthen of her Taxes, yet never stretched forth his Hand to ease her Load and save her from Perdition? He, who had been the Universal Invader of Freedom in electing your Representatives, the Profligate Spreader of Perjury and Corruption; the wanton Spoiler of Religion and Virtue; who, by the Power of passing penal Laws cut you from your Rights and Privileges, and doom'd your Lives to the Mercy of every prostituted Justice of the Peace.

Is this according to the Spirit of *Magna Charta*, the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement, or *English* Liberty? Detestable therefore as he must remain in the Hearts of all honest Men, tell me in what Light ought his Successors to be regarded, who, improving on his nefarious Plan of National Ruin, have so loaded the Genius of this distressed Isle with accumulated Imposts, that, sunk beneath the Load, he gasps expiring?

DURING

DURING this Time *Germanic* Interests grew daily more prevalent, and M——rs insolently pursued the old Maxims of indulging the ruling Passions of their —— to preserve themselves in Power, remorseless in their Country's Ruin; so that during this Reign there has been levied on this oppressed People, One Hundred forty five Millions, and in one Year, the last of the War, Ten Millions fifty nine Thousand ninety four Pounds: And even in the Year Seventeen Hundred fifty four, in profound Peace, Seven Millions five Hundred thirteen Thousand three Hundred forty four Pounds. Thus from the happy Hour of the Glorious and Immortal King *William's* being placed on this Throne, your annual Tax—— have been increased from Two Millions sixty c Thousand eight Hundred fifty six Pounds, to Ten Millions fifty nine Thousand ninety four Pounds in Time of War, and to Seven Millions five Hundred thirteen Thousand three Hundred forty four Pound in Time of perfect Tranquillity; added to which Blessing, you, your Children, and Childrens Children, to endless Generations, are mortgaged for a National Debt of Eighty Millions.

DURING this Interval, so productive of Blessings to this Land, according to the Songs of Whigs, Pensioners, Placemen, and M——rs, consisting of sixty-six Years only, there has been levied Three Hundred and eight Millions, from which deducting the annual Expence of Two Millions at the dethroning *James* the Second, there remains One Hundred and seventy-six Millions, which have been lavished in supporting *Dutch* and *German* Interests, and ruining your own.

HAVING thus far traced the happy Consequences of the *Whig* Administration, in draining you by oppressive Taxes, and overwhelming you with enormous Debts, I shall take the Liberty to shew you how this Money has in Part been disposed of in Subsidies to foreign Princes; first making one Remark,

mark, that whenever a Man of no Fortune marries a rich Wife, it generally follows, that her Money maintains his poor Relations and needy Cousins.

IN doing this it will be impossible to come at all the Sums paid in Subsidies, because Votes of Credit, Money for Deficiencies not provided for by Parliament, and other unspecified Sums, may very possibly have been applied in this anti-constitutional Manner. And to shew you that this Supposition is not without just Foundation, in 1697 there were amongst the Resolutions of the House, mention of Sums due to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, Landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, Duke of *Wolfenbuttle*, Bishop of *Munster*, Duke of *Hanover* and *Zell*, Duke of *Holstein*, and the King of *Denmark*.

HOWEVER, without including what has been just mentioned, there has been paid in Subsidies and incident Expences to foreign Princes, more than Fourteen Millions: A Sum exceeding the present Quantity of Specie in the Nation. And to this if there be added the Expence of subsisting those Troops in time of War, probably the Sum would be doubled.

THIS must inevitably appear not a little unaccountable and extraordinary to the Mind of every true *Englishman*: How will he reconcile this Idea with the Love of his Country; that during Wars carried on solely for *Germanic* Interests, the *English* have spent in Paying and Sustaining those Powers Twenty-eight Millions, hiring Princes and People to defend their own Territories, and protect their own Properties. What Arguments can a M——r offer to palliate this profligate Abuse of Power and Public Trust, this Sacrifice, more inhuman than those to *Moloch*, of a whole Nation to the Advantage of *German* Princes, whose Interests are as distant from yours, as those of one Planet from another, whose Dominions are not worth, at Public Auction, the Tenth Part of what you have spent and ran in Debt to support them; of this Sum, Two Millions Three hundred

hundred thousand Pounds *Engliſh* Money, have been paid to the Elector of *H—r*, as Subſidies for Troops hired to defend his own Country.

MARVELLOUS as the former muſt appear, this Article muſt yet ſurely excite a greater Wonder in the Eyes of all Men who yet love their Country, particularly when they conſider, that ſince the bleſſed Acceſſion of this Family to the Throne of theſe Realms, the Elector of *H—r* muſt have been enabled to ſave from his *Germanic* Revenues, by not reſiding on the Spot, at leaſt Two hundred thouſand Pounds Annually. Theſe Sums, without entering into a ſtrict Calculation of increaſing Intereſt, like a *Change-Alley* Broker, and yet not quite rejecting it, muſt, without Doubt, have doubled themſelves to the amount of Sixteen Millions Four hundred thouſand Pounds.

THIS Sum then *H—r* has ſaved, whiſt *M—rs* have been oppreſſing the haraſſed Subjects of *England*, deſtroying your Manufactures by Taxes, ruining your Liberties by fatal Laws, and mortgaging your Progeny by enormous Debts; methinks therefore, ſince this forlorn State has been already thus exhausted, oppreſſed, and mortgaged for *German* Intereſts, whiſt thoſe for whom you have Fought and Laboured have been growing Rich by your Undoing, it would be reaſonable that *H—r* ſhould at leaſt expend in her own Defence that Money which *England* has enabled her to ſave, before we are deeper plunged into the fathomleſs Abyſs of National Debt and overwhelming Taxes on that Account. Notwithſtanding this, tho' I confeſs to you with great Alacrity, that unſpeakable Advantages to this Nation have been derived from the Kings of the *Brunſwick* Race; yet, may I not be permitted to plead ſomething in Favour of a grateful People, who have by Indulgence defended the *Germanic* Dominions to the enriching their Inhabitants, and impoveriſhing themſelves.

GRATITUDE

GRATITUDE towards the Electorate of H—r, which has given us so Illustrious a King, ought undoubtedly to be cherished and estimated to its full Value, in the Breast of all *Englishmen*; yet will it not admit of some Debate, whether a M—r should be indulged in such extravagant and fatal Misconduct, as that of dooming the Labour of your Hands entirely to *German* Welfare; especially when we know, that our most gracious S—n on the T—e is absolutely divested of all such partial Inclinations, preferring the National Bliss of this Island and its Inhabitants, to whom he was born a Stranger, to the Welfare of that People, amongst whom he first drew his Vital Breath? To such Exaltation can the Souls of S—s rise above Humanity!

With what Rapture then do I declare this to you, my Fellow Countrymen; with what Pleasure will you see it confirmed by Public Authority, that all these levied Subsidies, to hire mercenary *Barbarians*, and sustain *German* Interests, are the Schemes of M—l Heads? Shall then the Tenderneſs of the parental P—e be defeated by the Arts of rapacious M—rs?

BUT let me no longer detain you from the Joy of reading what, fatally overlooked by the M—r, demonstrates the Truth of that which I have been asserting: The Passage is from the last *Edinburgh* Address on his Majesty's Return from *Hanover*, printed in the *London Gazette*, and in these Words, "The Spirit
" and Vigour with which your Majesty has supported
" the Rights of your Crown and Kingdom, when
" unjustly invaded, makes it our indispensible Duty
" to applaud those Measures, wherein all Considera-
" tions have been manifestly postponed to the Interest of
" the British Dominions." This transcript of Zeal, breathed from a Country so remarkable for its Loyalty, though perhaps it may not be paralleled by any Address from *English* Corporations, yet for the Honour of my Country, I assert is as firmly believed by *English* as by *Scotchmen*; and though you have
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been

been less warm in your Expressions, I am convinced ye are as steady in your Loyalty and Duty.

HAVING in this Manner proceeded to lay before you the Money which has been raised and lavished, together with the Debt incurred in sustaining *German* Interests, it is with Pain I proceed to shew how your Calamities have increased in other Views; every Bosom that yet feels for its Native Land, must prove the biting Anguish of this accumulated Misery.

It is not only that your Trade, Agriculture, and Manufactures, have been wholly employed to support foreign Interests; the matchless Iniquity of M——rs has been totally engaged in ruining yours, by reducing the Value of pecuniary Property to less than one Sixth of its worth at the Revolution.

In the Reign of King *William* Money was at Seven *per Cent.* it is now reduced to Three and One half; Thus then as the Interest arising from that Property determines its Value, Two thousand Pounds being now only productive of the same Interest which one gave you at that Time, are of no more Worth; and all your Property in that Shape must have lost half its Value: To this Misfortune the fatal Adherence to *Germanic* Interests has reduced you.

How many friendless Widows and destitute Orphans have already sorely felt, how many more must suffer on this Account, owing to this calamitous Reduction? Old Age pines in Want of the necessary Comforts which that helpless State requires, and Infants are divested of Education from this fatal Change in pecuniary Income.

YET alas, this Reduction of half the Worth of your Possessions in Money does not terminate the Evil. By the best Computation, according to the Taxes of 1754, in profound Peace, out of every Twenty Shillings which is laid out to purchase the Necessaries of Life, Fourteen are doomed to the paying Taxes. By this Means two Thirds of that Money which was before reduced in half its Value
since

since the Revolution, by diminished Interest, is again taken from you, by the Increase of your Taxations.

Thus then for every Twenty Shillings Income in the Time of *James* the Second, arising from the Interest of your Money, you receive but Ten Shillings only at present; and as at his Exile your Taxes amounted only to Four Shillings in the Pound of all you expended, and at this Time to Fourteen, it follows, from the Imposts so enormously increased by *M——rs*, that since that Time, instead of possessing Sixteen Shillings in every Pound clear of Taxes, you now possess Three only to purchase all the Necessaries of Life: What have ye already suffer'd? When will ye behold the End of your Calamities?

WHAT *Englishman's* Heart can cease from throbbing with Anxiety, when the hapless Condition of his industrious Countrymen comes across it? When wounded with this Thought, that of all you earn one half is lost in Value, and two Thirds of that sunk in Taxes since the Revolution; how inexpressible must that Anguish be to all you who recollect, that of every twenty Strokes of those who labour at the Hammer, or the Loom, in Agriculture, Arts, and Manufactures, Fourteen are doomed to pay accumulated Taxes, raised for *German* Interests? That of Minutes, Hours, Days, Weeks, Years, and Ages Fourteen of every Twenty are destined to pay for what will be your Ruin, before yourselves, your Wives and Children, can taste their daily Bread, the honest Labour of your Hands?

NAY, all ye Eat, Drink, or Wear, Health, Cleanliness and Warmth, your Dwellings, and even the cheering Light of the Sun, which Heaven has given alike to all, are taxed to enrich *Germans* and exhaust you.

SUCH then, tho' the Revolution was at that Time absolutely necessary, have been the deplorable Effects of *M——I* Misconduct since that *Æra*. To such Distress ye are reduced.

HARD as these Conditions may appear, I should yet have acquiesced in this Support of *German* Interests, if the Product of your Trades had answered to the Sums ye consumed, and the Increase of your National Wealth had augmented during the Time of this Dissipation: But alas! such is the Fate of *Englishmen*, that of the Millions coined in this Land, of the Millions coined in others, and brought hither by Loans and Commerce, not less perhaps than One hundred Millions since the Revolution, not one Shilling remains amongst you more than there was in *England* at that Time; not to mention the National Debt incurred of Eighty Millions. *Germany* and her Interests, with some Assistance from the *East-India* Company, like the *Locusts*, which fell on *Ægypt*, have devoured up the Whole. Wealth has passed thro' this Kingdom like a Meteor thro' the Sky, blazed, and left no Trace behind.

THIS long List of Evils, ye might well expect would terminate your Misery; but alas! it is not in the Burthen of your Taxes only, but in the Manner which they are laid upon you, that the Calamity is increased.

WHEN Taxes were first granted in this Kingdom, *for ever*, as a Security for the Money which was to be levied upon them, in many it was provided, that as soon as the Money borrowed thereon was paid, the Tax should cease: But since that Time, these and all others, the Malt-Tax, Land-Tax, and very few besides excepted, have been granted *to all Eternity*, with a Provision only, that when the Money borrowed on them shall be paid, the Produce shall be at the Disposal of Parliament.

THE Difference is too glaring to escape your Observation in these two Ways of passing the Bills; in the first, the Tax ceases necessarily with the Payment of the Debt, and the People are not obliged to pay it; in the second, it continues after the Debt is discharged, and the People are obliged to pay it.

Wherefore,

Wherefore, if ever the National Debts should be liquidated, which I believe no Man's Fears will induce him to say God prevent, from any present Probability of that Event, the King will have a Revenue of more than four Millions Sterling coming annually into his Exchequer, without any new Grant from Parliament, or need of it. Will then the Crown, the M——r, Placemen, Pensioners, and Plunderers, hereafter consent to free you from these Taxes, by abrogating the Law? Should a Monarch graciously incline, will a M——r honestly consent; or will a Crowned Head listen to the righteous Advice of a just M——r, if Heaven, in Commiseration to our Fall, should in future Time send us that Temporal Saviour?

If then the blessed Sun shall ever rise, which shall behold the Discharge of your Debts, and peradventure there shall be seated on this Throne a K—— swift to Wrath, and swift to Fear, whose partial Fervour for *Germanic* Interests shall prompt him into Broils, inattentive to your Welfare, so tender of his continental Subjects, and so afraid of *French* Invasion in that Part, that through Dread of their Distress, he shall be intimidated to vote for the Election of that very E——r he is opposing; when chaining by his timid Command the Royal Fleet of *England* at *Gibraltar*, he shall permit that of the Enemy to pass by unnoticed and untouched, whilst the brave Admiral runs mad at the Horror of this Sacrifice of his Country's Honour; then this Revenue will probably be applied to the sole Benefit of foreign Nations.

BUT if it shall happen that the M——r then in Direction shall dare the K——g to dismiss him from his Post, shall appoint all Officers at his arbitrary Will, and discharge all who presume to oppose his pernicious Practices; then shall this Revenue be squandered to purchase Burroughs, corrupt P——ts, lull the Turbulent, sooth and satisfy the Ambitious, and rule ye with the Iron Rod of M——l Despotism.

It may happen also that a K—— and M—— of these Propensities may rule together; then will their Conduct be a Mixture of the fatal Effects of such Inclinations, and you doubly fleeced, to satiate the outrageous Love for foreign Nations in one, and to supply the inextinguishable Hunger after Rapine in the other, and in his profligate Adherents: In this Manner, by Powers drawing different Ways, ye shall be rent asunder.

To what a deplorable Situation since the glorious Revolution are ye reduced? Arms are again taken from your Hands, the Income of your pecuniary Property shrunk to one Sixth of its Value. The Necessity of your Toil for daily Bread immensely increased, the whole Profits of it bestowed on Foreign Nations, yourselves and Progeny mortgaged beyond Redemption, and your Taxes rivetted beyond all Hopes of Dissolution.

TELL me then by what Name I shall define ye, doom'd to such hard Conditions for your daily Bread, defenceless even of that little ye possess. Shall I, beholding ye are yet *Englishmen*, dare to call ye Slaves?

YET alas! to *German* Weal have not your Looms and Labour, Arts, Agriculture, Merchandize and Science, been long destined? For that your Flocks have been increased and shorn, your Fields been fertilised and reapt, your Ships have dared the Wrath of Tempests, your Cash been squandered, your Blood been lavished. For that Interest ye have Lived and shall Die.

THEN tell me, how does the purchased *Negro* differ from you in Servitude? How is your Condition more eligible or free, when the hard Hand of Necessity compels you to Toil Fourteen Hours in every Twenty, for foreign Nations, to whom ye owe no legal Obedience, before ye earn one Bit of Bread.

Who shall now audaciously lift his Front and say ye are longer Free, or that your State answers to the Definition

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Definition given by that great Author quoted in the Beginning of these Pages? Do ye possess the Power of doing all ye ought to chuse? Are ye not compell'd to do that which ought not to be the Choice of a free People?

In this Manner reduced as ye are since the Date of the happy Revolution, in all the Value of your annual Revenues, is it credible that the Heart of an *Englishman*, unrelenting to the Miseries of his Native Land, can again suggest the cruel Thought of finishing your Destruction, by espousing *H——n* Interests, at this precarious Moment?

Is it not Time to respite this Nation from her Calamities and Sufferings? Must her Wounds again be opened, her Treasures sluiced for the sole Benefit of *German Powers*? Shall mercenary *Barbarians* be purchased in Defence of *H——r*, and ten Times the Value of that State in *English* Gold be wasted for its Preservation? Will the Woes of all Nations but yours be ended?

BE not amused with specious Tales of Conventions made with the *Prussian King*, and vast Advantages obtained; what are you to him, or he to you, as *Hamlet* says of *Hecuba*? What is this but farther Proof of Attention to *H——n* Weal, whilst the Safety of this Nation is still neglected and postponed, and Arms with-held from your Hands? Whatever be the concealed Condition, be assured, the Price of your Labour, the Works of your Hands, the Produce of your Lands and Manufactories, purchase him to the Engagement; whatever the Advantage, it can accrue to *H——r* alone. Of what other Consequences can these Treaties be to this Land, saving that of completing your Perdition?

HAVE ye an Ally, unpurchased by your Treasure, who will advance one Regiment to the Field in your Defence? Will even the *H——ns*, for whom you have already wasted so much Wealth, will the *Austrians* espouse your Quarrel, and risque the *Nether-*
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lands in your Favour? Can that Nation which already pays Fourteen Shillings in every Twenty which her Inhabitants expend towards the Taxes of the State, bear farther fleecing, and new Imposts? Can a People in whose Favour, at the highest Computation, the Yearly Balance of Trade does not exceed Five Hundred Thousand Pounds, whose Cash consists of only Fourteen Millions, be capable of sustaining the Payment of foreign Subsidies, and Support of *German* Armies, to the Amount of three or four Millions annually; which transmigrating, like the Soul in the System of *Pythagoras*, from hence to *Brutes*, never returns to the same Body?

WILL *Dutchmen* and other Foreigners lend their Money to furnish Loans to a State, whose declining Credit is manifest by the Reduction of one Quarter of their *East-India* Stock? Can you alone sustain a continental War, mortgaged for Eighty Millions, against *France*, who, when free and unmortgaged, have been running to Destruction in supporting former Wars, assisted by the *Dutch* and *Austrians*?

WILL not then a five Years War on the Continent, and M——l Conduct, bring upon you a more deplorable Calamity than that with which the Will of Heaven has visited the *Portuguese*? When Paper no longer circulating from Hand to Hand in lieu of Money, your Treasure wasted to *Germany*, ye stand in need of wherewithal to buy your Children Bread?

THE Gold of *Portugal*, tho' buried in the Ruins of *Lisbon*, may again be recovered from the Rubbish; tho' hid, not annihilated; whereas the Treasure of this Isle, transported to *Germanic* Lands, will be irrecoverable by human Industry, and lost for ever. Does it then require the Gift of Prophecy to predict your Destruction?

YET in this present Situation, not irremediable by adhering to *British* Interests alone, this precious Moment which must decide the Fate of *England*, such

[97]
is the unnatural Lot of every honest *Englishman*, who feels for the Distresses of his Country, that Consent to Subsidies, and supporting *German* Interests, are the sole Tests of Allegiance to M———, the sole Preservative of Place and Pension. He who nobly prefers his Native Land to H——'s Welfare, is marked the instant Victim of M——'s Vengeance. Long Services, unimpeached Fidelity, superior Talents, well-fought Fields, and honest Wounds in *England's* Cause, weigh nothing in the M——'s Scale against H——'s Welfare; these secure no Man from Dismissal, who dares oppose the draining your Treasures for *German* Interests.

SUCH is your dire Condition: Then tell me, what have ye to expect from that Man, who having violated his Fidelity to his Prince, and trucked his Religion for a Place, bellows out for Subsidies, his hardened Front of *Hibernian* Brass unblushing at the Speech and Action?

OR what have ye to Hope from him, who, like *St. Paul*, converted by the Splendor of those Rays which dart from on high, becomes all Things to all Men? Who, sown in Weakness is raised in Power? And, like the first Man, is of the Earth, earthly? But behold, I will show them a Mystery, they shall not all Sleep, but they shall be changed; for this Corruptible, must put on Incorruption, and this Mortal must put on Immortality.

OR lastly, from him, who like the *Vulture* long hovering o'er his Prey, has at length sowing, fixed his Talons in M——'s Power; he who possesses it on the base Conditions of wasting your Wealth in foreign Subsidies, and dooming this Land to Perdition in support of H——'s Interests.

HE who, from his early Youth Companion of the Abandoned, immersed in Dice and Women, Self-interested, Daring, Proud, Rapacious, Vehement, Unequal, Active, Timid: his Ambition rising like the rank Weed from Dung; now giving, yet retaining;
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completes the promised Expectation of his opening Life, and dupes his native Land to his own, and foreign Interests.

He whose Tongue, the pleading Bawd for every Robber of his Country, has vindicated an *A—r* and *L—p*, whose Fingers, like the Hair of *Solomon's* Mistress, are all of pure Gold; like *Catiline*, desperate in his Purposes, undoing or undone, seducing the Young, surrounded by the Profligate, who, avaricious thro' Profusion, with scarce less Vice or more virtuous Inclinations towards their Country, pillage to waste: Among whom, perhaps, a *Cæsar* now cherishes the Hopes of future Empire.

OR that Veteran in m——l Iniquity, who, like the silly *Ostrich*, thinking himself invisible to all he does not see, hides his Head amongst these Men, and leaves his bare Backside an Object of Derision to every Passenger.

If such shall ever be your m——l Rulers, behold them with that Horror which Heaven has commanded the Virtuous to look on Iniquity: Then turn your Eyes on those, who scorning all Place which is incompatible with *English* Honour and *English* Interest, shall be dismissed, because they prefer their Country's Cause to foreign Welfare.

BEHOLD with Joy him, whose unwearied Diligence, superior Intellect, Love of his Country, and *Memorial for settling the Limits of Nova Scotia*, rescued the M——r from the dire Dilemma of not being able to prove the Right of *England* to these very Provinces in *America*, for which ye contend, and silenced all the babbling Batteries of *France*: Who, greatly renouncing all Post and Place, destines his Talents to serve his Country only.

On him, Integrity burning Incense at the Altar of his Heart, whose honest Hand disdained to Sign a Breach of this Constitution, or trifle with *British* Welfare.

He who, resigning all pecuniary Advantage, despises

spices the false Honour of Place, the fallacious dazzle of Power, sustaining his Country's Cause still uncorrupted.

How shall I describe to you a noble Family, where all the Sons are virtuous, ardent in their Country's Cause, relinquishing all Place and Profit, resolute in Honour, strenuous in Justice to this Land, their Constitution, and their King?

OR him, who renouncing immense Income, the Price of Numbers, and even the Post he wishes to possess, when it may be held compatible with his own Honour and his Country's Glory, steps forth like *David*, tho' not at *Saul's* Request, before the *Israelites*, opposing the M——l *Goliath*, and his Host?

His Heart still uncorrupt amidst the general Venality, animates his Lips in your Defence; those Lips, which to this Day have uttered nothing but the Voice of Truth in *England's* Favour.

HE, who contemning mercenary Views, with pure Integrity supported the Honour of his Station, his Hands unstained with venal Pollution, his Tongue unprostituted in defence of Falshood, or extenuation of Iniquity; for him the Soldier maimed in Battle, offers up his daily Prayers, who freed him from the Plunderer.

MARK how that force of Eloquence, like the Sword of *Michael*, cleaves the Satanic Body of the M——y asunder; yet such is the Power of Union amongst Evil M——rs, like that of Evil Spirits, it unites them again to war against your Welfare.

ASSIST me, Heaven, to paint this Messenger dispatched from your Abodes, who, arduous in the Task of Liberty, spreads his broad Shield of Truth in Protection of this Country from the Rage of G——n Harpies; or give my Words his Power of Speech, and strength of Argument, which dart like the solar Rays on the dark Places and Recesses of your Miseries, making all visible: Then may I offer him to your Perceptions, and shew him as he is.

Did ye behold him rising in the Assembly of the
the Lightning of Vapour flashing from his Eyes,
the Thunder of Patriotism rolling from his Tongue;
so superior he appears, such Majesty he wears, you
must conceive him sent an Angel, to denounce the
Wrath of Heaven against a sinful Generation; his
Opponents calling on Rocks and Mountains to hide and
cover them? Such Confusion and Dread dwell on the
dazzled Faces of all, who sold, to H—n Interests, stand
branded in the Forehead with the *White Horse*, the
ignominious Mark of Slavery.

LISTEN not, ye People, to the Voice of Slander
and Malediction, which taints in vain his Acts of Vir-
tue with the base Idea of Tergiversation, or want of
Uniformity in Conduct: On whom has he turned his
Back, but those who would destroy their Native Land?
Whom has he deserted, that Honour can suffer an
Englishman to herd with? Why did he remain so long
silent, but thro' Hope, at length the auspicious Hour
might come, when getting to his S—n's Ear,
the Voice of Truth might prevail in *England's* Favour?

In vain, him whom they tremble to oppose Face to
Face, beneath the Light of Heaven, they secretly stil-
letto'd in the Dark, before his M—r. The magic
Voice of Verity was withheld from R—l Ears,
whilst the keen Breath of Malice blasted his Attach-
ment to the K— of E—d, pronouncing him the
Enemy of H—r.

MAY that Hour never arrive, when the R—l
Heart shall too late be touched with Remorse for this
Credulity, and suffer by the Deception of M—rs!

On this Man then turn all your Eyes, from Him
expect Redress, by Him urge your Remonstrances,
believe Him sent for your Preservation, lest, like
the *Messiah* to the *Jews*, he preach Salvation to an un-
grateful People, and ye are lost for ever.



F I N I S.

